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Wednesday July 29 1998

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Andorra (US\$) 1.00	Egypt (EGP) 1.00	Germany (DM) 1.00
Argentina (US\$) 1.00	Greece (Dr) 1.00	Italy (Lira) 1.00
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The Guardian

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Crisis as Lewinsky changes story

Clinton faces stark choice

Mark Tran in Washington

BILL Clinton was last night engulfed in a battle to save his presidency as his nemesis, the independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr, announced an immunity deal that would allow the former White House intern Monica Lewinsky to reveal all about her alleged affair with the president.

News of the immunity deal was announced at a short and chaotic press conference outside her lawyer's office in Washington. For her "full and truthful testimony, she will receive transactional immunity in this case", said Plato Cacheris, after a brief meeting with Ms Lewinsky.

Mr Clinton was presented with stark options. He could choose to fight Mr Starr's subpoena for him to testify before a grand jury, a legal battle that would go all the way to the Supreme Court and buy him more time. But such a move could prove politically costly, with the public suspecting that he had something to hide.

Republicans have threatened to start impeachment proceedings should Mr Clinton reject the subpoena and Democrats have urged him to come clean amid fears that his refusal would damage their November midterm election prospects. At the White House, spokesman Mike McCurry said Mr Clinton was "eager to see this matter resolved".

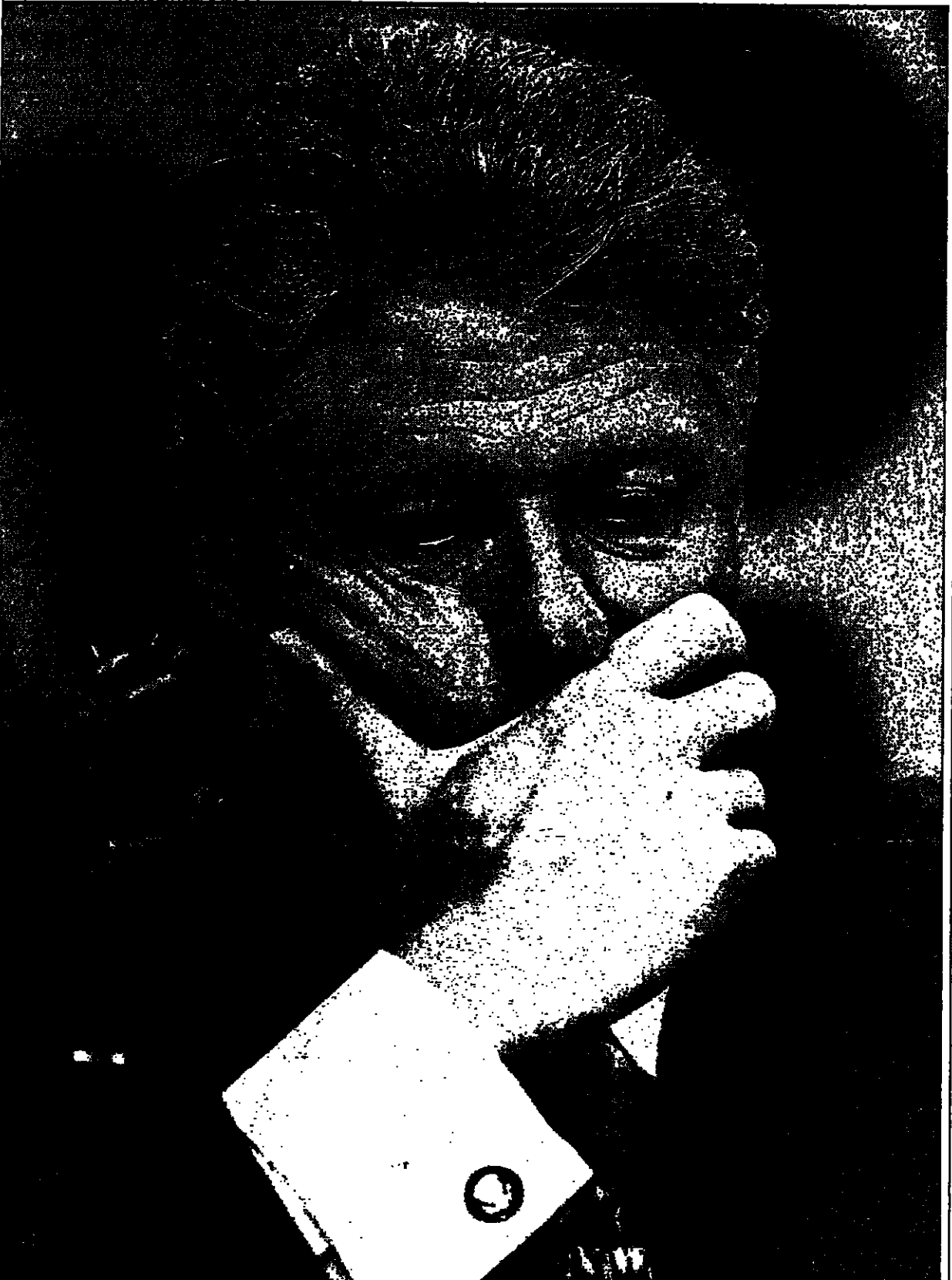
But in testifying before a grand jury, Mr Clinton could walk into a "perjury trap", where he could trip up on contradictory statements. Mr Clinton would have to reconcile his statements with those of Ms Lewinsky and a host of others that point to his relationship with the former intern.

The only bright spot for Mr Clinton is that he is unlikely to have to testify this week, as Mr Starr had requested, as he has had little time to prepare for questioning.

Last night, Mr Clinton sought cover by appearing at the tribute to the two policemen murdered by an insane gunman on Capitol Hill, a gesture designed to show the full dignity of his office.

Under transactional immunity, Ms Lewinsky will receive blanket immunity so that nothing she says can be used against her, a move that surprised legal experts.

The agreement for Ms Lewinsky's testimony was



President Clinton: Republicans are threatening to start impeachment proceedings

PHOTOGRAPH: RICK WILKINS

reached after she was interviewed for five hours on Monday by Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York.

Ms Lewinsky's account tallied with her lawyers' proffer — a pledge to provide specific evidence in exchange for immunity — to prosecutors early in the investigation, according to a key source. In that proffer, Ms Lewinsky was said to have spoken of having a sexual relationship with the president.

She did not say Mr Clinton had asked her to lie, sources

said. But Ms Lewinsky will directly contradict Mr Clinton's sworn deposition in that case as well as his forceful denial on television, when he declared: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman."

The Lewinsky agreement came as a shock to the White House, throwing it again into a full-blown crisis.

Supporters of the president tried to put the best spin on the Lewinsky deal, pointing out that she has serious credibility problems after having

boasted of lying all her life. In changing her story, she will invite a certain amount of scepticism.

But Mr Starr has been burrowing assiduously for six months to get corroborating evidence from hundreds of other sources. Including secret service agents, leading White House aides and figures such as Linda Tripp, who secretly tape-recorded 17 hours of conversation with Ms Lewinsky.

While the public has been fixated by allegations of Mr

Clinton's affair with Ms Lewinsky, Mr Starr is seeking to show that the president's behaviour afterwards was symptomatic of abuse of power stretching back to his days as governor of Arkansas.

Mr Starr is expected to send a report of several hundred pages to the Republican-controlled Congress, which will have to decide whether to begin impeachment proceedings against a popular incumbent in the White House.

Clinton crisis, page 7

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

MORE than 22,000 defendants a year are to be stripped of their centuries' old right to trial by jury under official plans which are expected to win the backing of the Home Secretary, Jack Straw.

The reform represents a further blow to Britain's ancient jury system in the wake of plans to abolish jury trials for complex fraud cases. Critics complain it would mark a further stage in the jury being pushed to the margins of the criminal justice system.

Abolition of the right to elect for trial will affect more than 20 per cent of the crown court cases currently tried by judges and juries in England and Wales. They would in future be heard by a bench of magistrates.

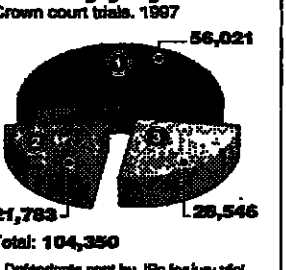
The right for the accused to elect for jury trial covers a wide range of middle-ranking offences, such as theft, handling stolen goods, indecent assault and other offences, some of which are minor but strike at the accused's personal reputation for honesty.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, has been pressing for the change for some months to save millions of pounds spent on crown court cases which could be tried in the magistrates' courts. It is estimated that the average cost of a contested jury trial is £13,500, compared with £2,500 for a magistrates' court case.

But until now Mr Straw has blocked change. When the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, took up the proposal first floated by the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, Mr Straw in opposition attacked it saying it was "unfair, short-sighted and likely to prove ineffective".

But the Home Secretary has now changed his mind. Last night, announcing a consultation paper outlining options for change, Mr Straw said that an internal Home Office review had shown considerable support for change to the current system. "It is crucial that a full opportunity for the principle for such a change is considered in the interests of justice and efficiency and we welcome views on whether

Trial by jury Crown court trials, 1997



1 Defendants elect for jury trial
2 Defendants elect for trial by judge
3 Serious cases only heard by jury

Acquittal rates For not guilty pleas



Source: Home Office

Austin



any alternative is needed." Officially, no final decision has been made, but it is understood that Mr Straw has dropped his opposition to the reform and it is likely to be included in a new crime bill this autumn.

cluded in a new crime bill this autumn.

The Bar Council last night reiterated its criticism of the reform. "The argument has remained the same since this was last put forward," said spokesman Bruce Holder. "This would take out of the field of jury trial quite a number of serious offences and we do not know how magistrates would exercise their judgment in this matter."

"It is a back door removal of jury trial and would be a further unfortunate inroad into something which is being marginalised all the time."

His opposition was supported by Vicki Chapman of the Legal Action Group, the radical law reform campaign. "The defendant's right to elect to jury trial is one of the most important rights in the criminal justice system. It is a fundamental safeguard not just for the protection of the accused but also to uphold the legitimacy of the whole criminal justice system."

"One of the reasons why people elect to jury trial is that, quite rightly, they have a better chance of acquittal."

Home Office research says this is a major reason for defendants opting for jury trial, coupled with the belief that magistrates "are on the side of the police". But recent official research also shows defendants are mistaken if they elect for jury trial in the hope of getting a lighter sentence.

The consultation paper published yesterday says that there has already been a steady erosion of the defen-

turn to page 3, column 1

How to become a Freelance Writer

by NICK DAVIS

Freelance writing can be creative, fulfilling and a lot of fun, with excellent money to be made as well. What's more, anyone can become a writer. No special qualifications or experience are required.

The market for writers is huge. In Britain alone there are around 1,000 daily, Sunday and weekly papers, and more than 8,000 magazines. Many of the stories and articles that they publish are supplied by freelancers. Then there are books, theatre, films, TV, radio...

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Six years in an iron mask walking around the world. Why? See page 2

Open letter sends warning to Darling

David Brindley, Social Services Correspondent

MORE than 150 leading social policy researchers have endorsed an open letter to Alistair Darling, the new Social Security Secretary, warning that the Government's approach to welfare reform is deeply flawed.

The letter presents the minister with stark evidence of the task he faces in trying to rescue the Government's reform plans with the approval of key opinion-formers in the field.

On his first day in charge of the £100 billion benefits bud-

get, Mr Darling yesterday made plain he was determined to act on reform.

"What I'm saying to you in clear, unequivocal terms, is that the time for talking and discussing is coming to an end," he said in a BBC radio interview. "We now actually need to implement our programmes so that people can see a real difference as a result of what I believe will be one of the most radical governments there has been this century."

But the intervention by many of Britain's best-known social policy academics suggests there needs to be more talk. Commenting on the welfare reform green paper, con-

sultation about which ends on Friday, they say the Government "could do quite a bit better".

The letter was drafted among delegates to the annual conference of the Social Policy association where, it says, much of the discussion about the green paper was critical. One professor said: "I think the general view was that it was worth something like 2% out of 10."

The green paper was drawn up by Frank Field, the former minister for welfare reform who resigned from the Government on Monday when Harriet Harman, the former social security secretary, was

sacked. Their departures sparked speculation that the reform agenda was dead.

John Denham, the former junior social security minister, was yesterday promoted to minister of state level. He will take over Mr Field's welfare reform brief and keep his responsibility for pensions.

The academics' letter questions the Government's emphasis on the duty of benefit claimants to find paid work in the absence of any duty of employers and government to provide jobs.

It also points to the "worrying absence" from the green paper of any strategy for those unable to work and of an overall strategy for social

security as a whole. Referring to the conference debate, the letter says: "As one participant pointed out, black people appear on the green paper's cover — but are absent from the text."

Further criticism of the Government's welfare policies came yesterday from the Commons education and employment committee. It said it supported the aims of the New Deal for lone parents, helping them off benefit and into work, but ministers had underestimated the importance of education and training in improving career prospects.

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Britain's first hi-tech private prison has had two suicides and eight mini-riots — even before its official opening.

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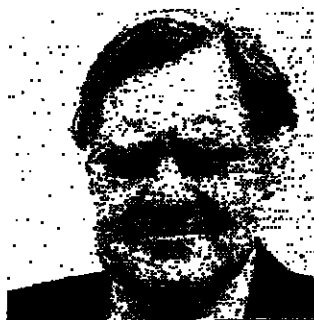
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In G2 today: The right-wing pundits with views for sale

+ Francis Wheen + Real Lives + Arts + Parents + Society + European Weather

Sketch

Scary stuff at the House party



Gary Younge

There is nothing so scary as MPs on drugs. Not only do they lose command of all their rational faculties, shouting banalities and waving their arms around with superhuman indignation as if their reelection depended on it, but awful things start to happen to their short-term memories too.

They keep standing up, sitting down and then standing up again, repeating themselves endlessly and forgetting the question someone has just asked them and so simply answering another one for which they have conveniently prepared.

Health minister Tessa Jowell had led them astray. Following a question about smoking-related illness, she referred to the detrimental effect of cannabis on the nation's health.

Just the very word sent Labour MPs into fits of giggles. They pointed at her Conservative shadow, Alan Duncan. In the hardback edition of his book *Saturn's Children*, Duncan had advocated the legalisation of all drugs. By the time the paperback had come out he had removed all mention of legalisation. From his ever-reddening face and lowered demeanour it was clear that he was still struggling with withdrawal symptoms.

Paul Flynn (Lab, Newport West) told them all to grow up. When, he asked, would the Government stop forcing those in pain who took cannabis for medicinal purposes to break the law and buy their painkillers on the black market?

Flynn, in the vernacular of the ecstasy generation, was freaking everyone out. Some were beginning to get paranoid. When a Tory tried to change the subject by lambasting Frank Dobson, the Health

Secretary, for appointing a woman to Shropshire health authority and for using the "socialist stronghold of Telford" to pack the board with leftwingers it was clear things were getting heavy.

Mr Dobson said that the Speaker, the Speaker, was 100 per cent woman. The giggling started again. Woodstock had nothing on this.

The Tories were so out of it they clearly could not recall the devastation they had inflicted on the National Health Service. Their front bench strode in looking like the cast of *Reservoir Dogs*, a substantial shadow health secretary, Ann Widdecombe, leading the way, flanked by the small but doughty Mr Duncan and a tall and wispy Philip Hammond (C, Runcorn and Weybridge).

They desperately wanted Labour to admit that they must have been on something when they pledged to increase the number of doctors in the NHS.

"Is it true that the extra 7,000 doctors promised will not represent a rise over and above the national increase which would have occurred anyway?" Miss Widdecombe asked. She then sat down and started talking to herself.

The Labour benches snorted their disapproval. Mr Dobson, continually and apparently uncontrollably rocking to and fro at the despatch box, unsided by musical accompaniment, was having trouble making himself understood. Full sentences as grammarians usually understand them were not coming easily. It looked like he wanted to say: "No, I don't think so," but, with mind and mouth not working fully in unison, it came out as something like: "I have no idea but whatever we're doing could never be as bad as what you did."

It took Virginia Bottomley (C, Surrey South West), whose time as health secretary must seem like a really bad trip, to make this clear. She shot up at the first opportunity and asked whether "naming and shaming" hospitals was not "stifling innovation".

The Labour benches roared. Thetford was clearly the only party worth going to. The rich man, the legendary American banker John Pierpont Morgan, imposed a condition: he must find a wife during the journey while never removing the mask.

Setting off on January 1, 1908, he ran into a battle in Bexley Heath, Kent. He was arrested for selling his postcards without a hawkers' licence. However, magistrates were sympathetic when told his story. They let him keep his mask on in court. He was fined 2s 6d (12½p).

Bensley, a mousy-looking little man, didn't find a wife, though he claimed to have had 200 marriage proposals. He trundled through England, Ireland, Canada, the United

States, China, Japan, India, Persia, Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans. The made-to-measure helmet weighed 4lb 6oz. After some 30,000 miles, he was well on the way to winning a sum worth at least £1.5 million at today's prices. Then, on August 14 1914, as he reached Genoa — Morgan ratted on the bargain.

The first world war had broken out. Morgan, founder of the US Steel Corporation, is thought to have become worried about the value of his assets. A disconsolate Bensley returned to Thetford by ship and is not known to have gone abroad again.

His thinly chronicled exploits came to light when Oliver Bone, curator of the Ancient House Museum, began researching civic personalities while compiling a heritage strategy for the town.

Tom Paine, author of the *Rights of Man*, was born there. Boudicca had connections. The Danish king

Cancer scare for 1,000

Women face two-month wait for clearance after alert over hospital smear test procedures

Sarah Boseley
Health Correspondent

EMERGENCY clinics are to be held at St George's Hospital in Tooting, south London, so that 1,036 women who may be at risk from cervical cancer can be seen by specialists within eight weeks.

There is particular concern for the women's health because the failures uncovered at the hospital have occurred at a later stage than basic smear test screening when pre-cancerous changes were already suspected.

All the women recalled have at some time in the past had a smear test which appeared to show the cell

changes which indicate a potential cancer. Sometime between 1993 and 1998, they were referred for a colposcopy examination to Graham Barker, a senior medical officer at the hospital, who has now taken voluntary leave of absence until after the recall.

Mr Barker's examinations are now in question. An independent inquiry found that 12 out of 19 of his patients who developed cancer were not well managed. Eight of the cases were deemed unacceptable, and in one of them, a woman died.

Problems with Mr Barker's techniques were spotted by a consultant gynaecologist, Desmond Barton, who joined the hospital two years ago. After disagreements between the two specialists, indepen-

dent experts were called in to look at cases which particularly worried Mr Barker.

Colposcopy is the microscopic examination of the cervix to confirm that the cell changes seen in the lab have taken place. Guidelines put out by the NHS Cervical Screening Programme in 1995 say that in almost every case, a biopsy or tissue sample should be sent for analysis.

Mr Barker claimed that Mr Barker did not take enough biopsies. He also criticised the loop excision by which cancerous cells are removed — Mr Barker's excision was too shallow, he claimed.

Under half the women recalled — 470 — did not have a biopsy, while the rest — 666 — were given a loop excision by Mr Barker. The St George's Healthcare NHS Trust has reviewed 5,000 cases treated by Mr Barker in the 10 years that he has been responsible for colposcopies and terminations of pregnancy at the hospital, but de-

cided no recall was necessary for the rest.

An extra four consultants are being called in so that the hospital can hold 12 clinics a week, seeing 10 women in each clinic. It is hoped that all those who can be traced will be seen within two months.

Andrew Dillon, chief executive of the hospital, warned that other hospitals in the NHS needed help to review their services. He expressed his regret about the anxiety that the recall would cause, but was confident the hospital was doing the right thing.

The hospital authorities said that since introduction of the colposcopy guidelines in 1996, Mr Barker had complied with them.

Jane Johnson, chairman of the British Society for Colposcopy and Clinical Cytology, said the guidelines covered every aspect of colposcopy examinations and that all doctors accredited to carry them out must now undergo regular audit.

Under the microscope

MOST cervical cancer scares and scandals have had their origin in the cytology lab where smear test slides are read. But this is not the case at St George's Hospital, writes Sarah Boseley.

The biggest cervical cancer scandal was at Kent and Canterbury Hospital, where 90,000 women were recalled in 1996 for new smears. At least eight women died needlessly and many others developed cancer and had to undergo hysterectomies.

An inquiry found there had been failures at almost every level, from the screeners in the labs who view slides every day under the microscope to the consultants and managers who were supposed to oversee and supervise their work.

But at St George's the problem arose at the next

tier up from the smear test. Women whose slides show cell changes that predict cancer are referred for a colposcopy. This is an examination of the cervix, using a microscope, to see if the suspect cells can be detected in situ.

Whether or not a doctor finds abnormal cells, best practice now dictates that they should perform a biopsy — remove a piece of tissue for analysis in the lab. If there are abnormal cells, the doctor should first remove them by a LEEP or loop excision, which slices away a small part of the cervix where they are located. The biopsy should then show that no cancerous cells are left.

Guidelines say the patient should be recalled six months later for a further smear test, to check that abnormal cells have gone.

Thetford unmasks its globe trotting man with a pram

John Ezard

THE historically eventful town of Thetford, Norfolk, discovered its very own Man in the Iron Mask yesterday.

He is Harry Bensley, who spent more than six years walking across the world in a full-faced, armoured helmet, pushing an Edwardian pram, with only £1 in his pocket.

His goal was to circumnavigate the Earth, earning his bread by selling postcards of himself, and win a £100,000 bet with a millionaire. The rich man, the legendary American banker John Pierpont Morgan, imposed a condition: he must find a wife during the journey while never removing the mask.

Setting off on January 1, 1908, he ran into a battle in Bexley Heath, Kent. He was arrested for selling his postcards without a hawkers' licence. However, magistrates were sympathetic when told his story. They let him keep his mask on in court. He was fined 2s 6d (12½p).

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Tom Paine, author of the *Rights of Man*, was born there. Boudicca had connections. The Danish king



All in a day's work: the perambulating Harry Bensley on his masked global circuit in search of a wife

Alton appointed Observer editor

Janine Gibson
Media Correspondent

ROGER Alton, features editor of the Guardian, was yesterday appointed editor of the Observer.

Alton, aged 50, who has worked for the Guardian for 24 years, takes up his new role immediately. The announcement was made by the Scott Trust, owner of the Guardian Media Group that publishes both the Guardian and the Observer.

Winton, editor of the Observer for the past 24 years, becomes editor-in-chief of the Sunday newspaper and will remain a writer and columnist. The author of *The State We're In*, Hutton is understood to have requested the change to his role on the paper. Following the runaway success of *The State We're In*, he has several book projects planned. Jocelyn Targett, deputy editor of the Observer, resigned from the paper yesterday. A GMM spokeswoman said Alton would appoint a replacement.

Alton joined the Guardian from the Liverpool Post in 1974 and became chief news sub-editor, and in 1985 was

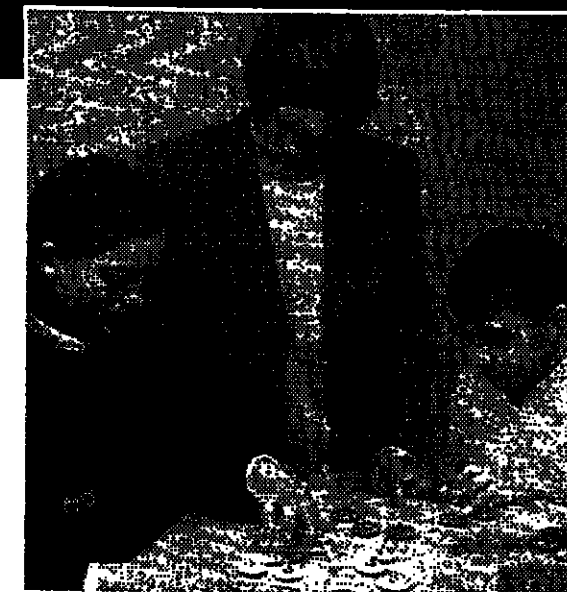


Alton: 24 years at Guardian

appointed deputy sports editor. He was subsequently arts editor and the Weekend Guardian editor before becoming features editor in 1993. Since then he has been responsible for several successful projects, including the Friday Review, the Media Guardian and development of the G2 tabloid section.

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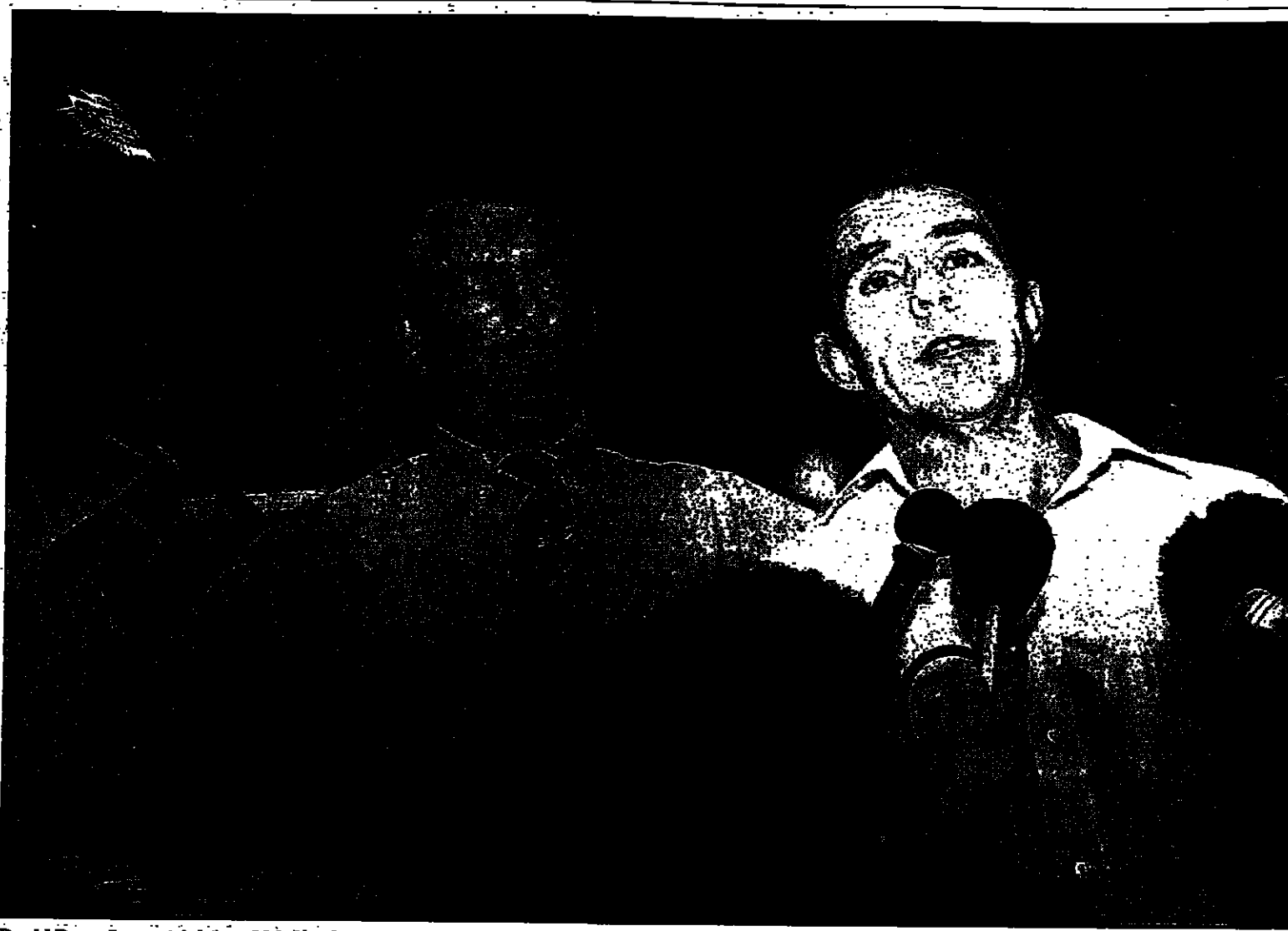
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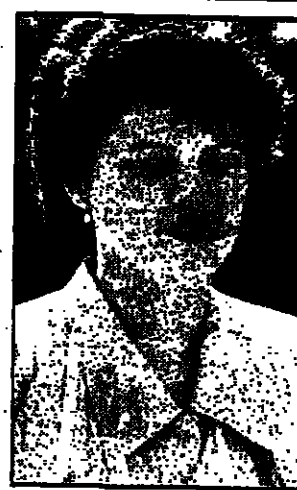
'I am glad that this ordeal is now over. I have always maintained that I did not kill my wife'

David Ryan James after the Court of Appeal hearing yesterday



David Ryan James (right) and his brother Keith outside the High Court yesterday after his conviction was quashed

PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW STUART



Mr James's second wife Catherine (left), whom he married in prison, his first wife Sandra, whose suicide led to his being charged with her murder, and (below) the house in Burton upon Trent where the couple lived



The note that ended a life sentence

In 1995 a vet was jailed for killing his wife. Yesterday he walked free, reports Duncan Campbell

A VET jailed for life for killing his wife was freed yesterday after fresh evidence pointed to her committing suicide in such a way as to implicate him with her murder. In a further twist, his release was based on the chance find of his wife's suicide note by the woman for whom he had left her. David Ryan James, aged 43, from Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, had his conviction for the murder of his wife, Sandra, quashed at the Court of Appeal on the grounds that it was unsafe. He was jailed for life in May 1995 and was described by the trial judge as an "evil, selfish and criminally callous man" after allegedly poisoning his wife with a powerful horse anaesthetic hidden in her orange juice. Outside the court yesterday, Mr James, supported by his father, Ruff, and two brothers, expressed his relief at the decision and his thanks to those who had supported him. "While the circumstances surrounding this case are deeply tragic," he said in a statement, "I am glad that this ordeal is now over. I have always maintained that I did not kill my wife."

Justice, which had featured his case, and to the crown counsel for not contesting the appeal or seeking a retrial.

Mr James was convicted at Stafford crown court of killing his wife, with whom he had three children, and trying to make her death look like suicide. He had left her for a close family friend, Catherine Crooks, whom he has since married in Gartree prison and who was in court yesterday.

He and his late wife had met Mrs Crooks, who also has three children, through the local parent-teacher association. His wife had been deeply upset by the end of the marriage and her weight dropped from 14 stone to six. He said that he had been told by a friend that his wife had been having an affair with another man, and he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man. He said that he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man, and he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man.

Insurance. It was also suggested that he had injected his wife with the sedative phenobarbitone and had tried to make her death look like suicide. Jailing him, Mr Justice Hadden told him that he should serve at least 20 years.

'Ryan, I leave you absolutely nothing but this note — if you find it in time'

for a "diabolical plot" which involved his wife's memory. He appealed unsuccessfully in March 1996.

Mr James could have stayed in jail for the next 17 years had it not been for a twist in the story that might have come from the pages of a David James or Ruth Rendell

mystery. While clearing out his office, the new Mrs James was flicking through old copies of the veterinary journal, In Practice, before disposing of them. From a section of the magazine about horses, Mr James's speciality, fell a note. It read:

"Ryan, I leave you absolutely nothing but this note — if you find it in time. Sam (his first wife's pet name) ... The note chimed with the will which Sandra James had earlier written and which had said: 'To my husband Ryan, I leave absolutely nothing. I loved you and lost you. I will

never forget.' Scientific tests indicated that the new note had been written only nine days before she died.

The note was duly passed to Mr James's lawyers and the case was then reviewed by the Criminal Cases Review Commission, which referred it back to the Court of Appeal.

Yesterday Colman, Treacy QC, for Mr James, said: "It is simply impossible to contemplate a woman writing a suicide note and her husband conspiring to murder her." Such a scenario was untenable and incredible, he said.

For the Crown, Peter Joyce QC said: "The Crown has a duty not just to its own side but to justice." The discovery of the note rendered the conviction unsafe, and the Crown would not contest the appeal nor seek a retrial.

Consultant psychiatrist Nigel Eastman told the court that it was likely that the first Mrs James suffered from a de-

pressive illness. There was a substantial likelihood that she had relapsed into a clinical depression shortly before her death, he said.

Granting the appeal, Lord Justice Evans, sitting with Mr Justice Sedley and Mr Justice Hooper, said that reasons for the judgment would be delivered later.

Mr James says he will not return to his veterinary practice but will seek a new career.

"I am still on the register but my feelings at the moment are that I'm willing to look at any form of employment," he told the SAC programme. By Ar Bedwar in an interview to be broadcast tonight. "It's not that I've lost interest but I've lost my faith in people, possibly because of the way I feel the practice treated me and because of that I'm going to look for a total change." He said his initial months

in prison had been "horrendous" but he had gradually adapted and had not been treated badly. "I feel my personality has changed," he said.

As regards the remarks addressed to him by the judge at his trial, he said: "I felt empty. What worried me most was the effect this would have on my family, friends and children, for them to be told something that wasn't true."

Euan Smith, Mr James's lawyer, said that it had been a lucky stroke that had led to Mr James's freedom. It was the fifth case to be referred back to the Court of Appeal by the CCRC, which was formed last year. Judgment is due to be delivered tomorrow in another case referred back by the commission, that of Derek Bentley, hanged nearly 50 years ago for murder of a policeman.

Pro-Europeans move up as Blair ends reshuffle

Michael White Political Editor

TONY Blair last night wrapped up his first government reshuffle with a series of junior appointments which saw pro-European politicians placed in posts at which crucial decisions on the single currency will be made in the years ahead. As a further gesture to modernity, three of the Class of '97 newcomers got ministerial posts, including two of Neil Kinnock's most trusted aides, the cerebral rivals Charles Clarke and Patricia Hewitt — the latter one of a clutch of new women ministers. Overall, four ministers were promoted yesterday, nine moved to new jobs and seven dropped. Twelve were new appointments. The promotion of Peter Mandelson, instead of the more sceptical Margaret Beckett, to head the Department of Trade and Industry was reshaped by the transfer of the equally enthusiastic former MEP Joyce Quin from the Home Office to be minister for Europe in Robin

Cook's Foreign Office team. In a pattern which marked the Prime Minister's two-day reshuffle, Ms Quin's predecessor, Doug Henderson, a lieutenant of Gordon Brown, was not dropped. Instead he was moved sideways to the Ministry of Defence in the way that Nick Brown, the Brownite chief whip, was moved from the nerve centre of government operations to the relatively tranquil pastures of the Ministry of Agriculture. The deputy chief whip, George Mudie, was also removed. He hands his job to former social security minister Keith Bradley, and takes on a post at education and employment. After a turbulent year, four whips are promoted to junior ministerial posts — Lord Whitty to environment and transport, Janet Anderson to culture, Jon Owen Jones to the Welsh Office and John McFall to Northern Ireland. Such moves reflect Mr Blair's growing confidence in the exercise of power in office. The retention of Geoffrey Robinson as Paymaster General, despite the sustained Tory-led campaign against his business deal-

ings, also showed a determination not to be bullied by the media as John Major was. There were rumours of a row over that decision. But the wealthy Mr Robinson is regarded as a vital revenue-raising asset by Gordon Brown and is also close to Mr Blair. In this instance their wishes coincide. Tony Lloyd, the Foreign Office minister caught up in the Sandline affair and acquitted by a subsequent inquiry, was also spared, against the bookies' odds of a month ago. The fears of Eurosceptic Tory MPs were further excited by the announcement that Lord Sainsbury, the philanthropist and grocer, will join the DTI team in an unpaid capacity. That amounts to an extra pair of hands which might be used to drive the single currency campaign among businessmen. "It's a very clear signal that Blair wants to join a single currency," the shadow trade secretary, John Redwood, protested. "Big business for Blair, big business for a single currency," he said. Labour MPs also noted that Lord Sainsbury joining the former BP chief Lord Simon,

both in unpaid ministerial office, amounted to a stronger business axis at the DTI. Suggestions that the DTI is virtually being privatised as an agency of business interests were offset by the transfer of the chippy, Edwina Currie, to the Home Office, a radical, Brian Wilson, a Mandelson ally in the 1997 election team, from the Scottish Office to be trade minister. Yesterday's media coverage was favourable to Downing Street, albeit at the expense of Mr Brown, and the Opposition has been hard-pressed to find an effective target, apart from renewed attacks on Mr Robinson by the shadow chancellor Francis Maude. But it was notable that Mr Blair's kitchen friends and neighbours had prospered. Lord Falconer came from nowhere on the strength of his personal ties. Margaret Hodge, until yesterday co-chairwoman of the Commons education select committee, is a former leader of Islington council, and lived a few doors from the Blairs until they moved to SW1.

Pollison, page 12; Analysis, page 14; Nigel Giffiths, page 5

Cutback in right to trial by jury set to win Straw's support

continued from page one

implementation of the Criminal Procedure and Investigations Act, which insists that the defendant must plead before a decision is made. Officials say it is possible that some defendants who plead guilty have conceded that they will receive a substantially heavier sentence in the crown court.

The Home Office consultation paper published yesterday outlines four main options, including keeping the status quo. They include outright abolition. A second option proposes that some offences, such as minor thefts, should be reclassified as triable only by magistrates. A cut-off point

for thefts below £100 would transfer 2,000 cases from the crown to the magistrates' court. A third option would be to deny the right to elect to anyone who had similar previous convictions to the charges faced, on the grounds that they no longer had an unblemished record to defend.

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Kathryn Hunter has that driven quality that you get in so many successful women, which either takes them to the pinnacle of their careers or the point of nervous breakdown.
Lyn Gardner
G2 page 8

Someone told you that you could make your mortgage repayments whenever you could afford it. What would you say?

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Representative only of Virgin Direct Personal Financial Service Ltd, which is regulated by the Personal Investment Authority for life insurance, pensions and unit trust business and represents only the Virgin Direct Marketing Group. Your Virgin One account must be repaid by the time you retire. YOUR HOME IS AT RISK IF YOU DO NOT KEEP UP REPAYMENTS ON A MORTGAGE OR OTHER LOAN SECURED ON IT. You can phone for further information or a written quotation at any time. You must be aged 18 or over. Life insurance is required. The actual rate of interest you pay will depend on the amount of money you want to borrow in relation to the value of your home. For example, if you wanted to borrow £75,000 secured against a home worth £100,000, you would pay 6.2%. The rate is variable and correct at 22.6.98. Based on this example, over 25 years an existing customer re-mortgaging a freehold home in England would pay 8.5% APR. You will also have to pay your own solicitor's fees and our solicitor's and valuer's fees which you will have to pay. In this example these fees would amount to £407. You will also have to pay your own solicitor's fees. In calculating the APR we have assumed you will have to pay your solicitor £75. For your security all calls are recorded and randomly monitored. The Virgin One account is not currently available in Northern Ireland. Virgin Direct Personal Finance Ltd, Discovery House, Whiting Rd, Norwich, NR4 6EL.

Security firm faces new fines

Hostages and riots at newest private jail

Alan Travis
Home Affairs Editor

B RITAIN's first hi-tech private prison has had two suicides, eight mini-riots and two officers taken hostage before its official opening by the Princess Royal tomorrow.

This catalogue of problems at the Securicor-run Parc prison, near Bridgend, South Wales, is revealed today in a Whitehall memorandum to MPs by the director general of the Prison Service, Richard Tilt. He discloses that the private security company, which was fined £24,000 this year for failings at Parc, is facing a further bill of £21,915 for "incidents in May and for failure to meet minimum standards in February to April".

Securicor recruits top men after new prison problems 'caused by a lack of leadership'

Princess Anne will perform the official opening ceremony at the £286 million prison in the company of Mr Tilt. The director general confirms in his letter that the first "keyless" prison has had to issue keys to some staff because of problems with the computer-controlled locking system and because inmates have been able to tamper with the locks to prevent them working.

He also reveals that a group of young black teenage offenders transferred to the jail from Feltham, west London, faced such racist abuse that they had to be moved out of the prison.

The director general acknowledges that opening any prison is a difficult and sensitive undertaking.

But he goes on to paint a sharper contrast between the "greater-than-expected number of incidents" at Parc with the opening of Gwent, its lastest jail. Fazakerley, on

Merseyside, which he says has been a success over the same period.

There has been only one incident at the Group 4 prison. Some 68 inmates refused to go to their cells in February but the incident was resolved peacefully within three hours.

MPs on the Commons public accounts committee (PAC) have been told that there were too few staff employed at Parc when it opened in November and the custody officers lacked experience in managing prisoners.

"There were problems caused by a lack of leadership, with senior management failing to address issues in a consistent and sustained manner. There have been two changes of director and one of the deputy director," Mr Tilt said.

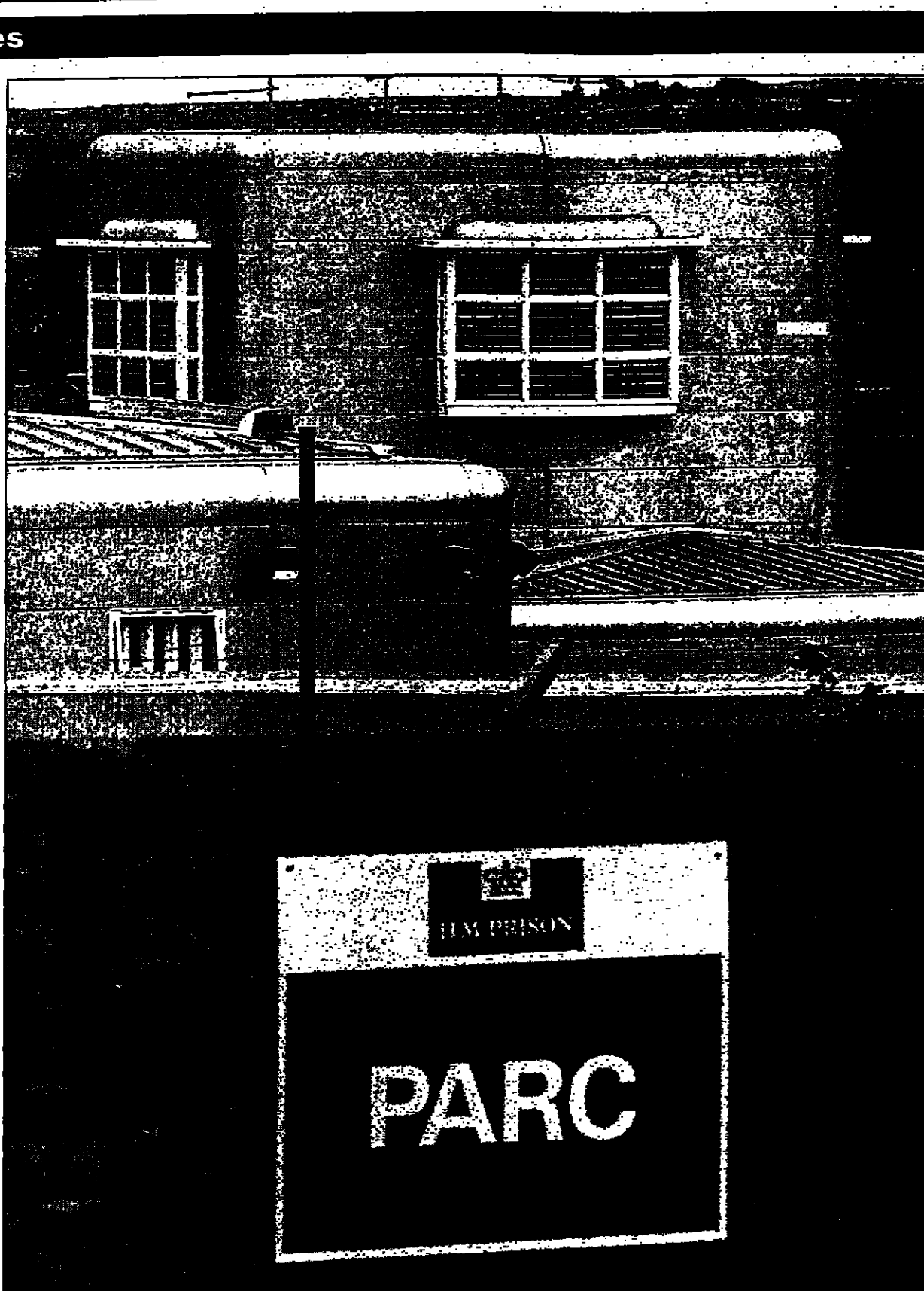
Securicor has now recruited a highly experienced former governor of Bristol prison and secured the services of the deputy governor of Channings Wood prison in Kent in an attempt to solve the problems at the jail. Staff numbers have also been increased.

The PAC inquiry into the two private prison contracts concludes that the Securicor and Costain consortium bid to build and run Parc is likely to save about £53 million, and criticises the Government for not awarding them the Merseyside contract for which they were the lowest bidders.

The MPs also say they are concerned that the Prison Service did not examine closely Securicor's proposals for staffing and running the prison despite their lack of experience.

David Davis, the PAC chairman, said it could not be right that some of the costs of sorting out the operational difficulties at Parc had fallen on the public prison system.

He also said he was very concerned to discover that there was a ceiling of 5 per cent of the contract price on the financial penalties that can be levied on private prison companies for failing to deliver what they had promised.



Securicor's Parc private prison, the first hi-tech establishment, where keyless doors need keys PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF MORGAN

Inside story

November 27: Self-inflicted death of David Jenkins.

December 25: 30 young inmates refuse to return to cells.

December 26: 20 adults

refuse to return to cells.

December 27: 17 young inmates barricade and smash up cell.

February 16: 40 young inmates refuse to lock up. Cells smashed.

February 20: Concerted

refuse to return to cells.

March 8: Hostage incident involving two officers.

April 18: 33 young inmates stage mini-riot in exercise yard. Cells damaged.

May 5: Self-inflicted death of Dallas Lee.

May 6: Mini-riot involving 40 inmates. Staff forced to withdraw.

May 13: Prisoner released in error.

May 14: Mini-riot involving 30 inmates.

May 20: Search for gun after intelligence reports.

News in brief

Firefighter jailed for hoax calls

A FIREFIGHTER was jailed for six months at Liverpool crown court yesterday for making hoax 999 calls to help his colleagues qualify for overtime payments.

Paul Roberts, aged 32, was involved in a money-making racket in the Merseyside brigade in which hoax calls were made towards the end of shift so firefighters would get an hour's overtime. The brigade has launched an investigation.

Missing satellite found

SOHO, the \$500 million sun-watching satellite lost in space, has been found a million miles from Earth by a search operation using the world's biggest radio telescope. Soho — Solar and Heliospheric Observatory — went missing in June as it hovered at a point in space where the sun's gravitational force and Earth's are equal.

US scientists using a 305 metre telescope managed to transmit a signal to the 10 metre satellite, locate its echo and track it for more than an hour. — Tim Radford

Sex offender on hunger strike

A CONVICTED sex offender who sparked an inquiry into alleged paedophile activity at the Ashworth top security hospital has started a hunger strike. It was confirmed yesterday.

Stephen Duggan, aged 37, transferred to Rampton hospital in Nottinghamshire after making the allegations in September 1996, has been refusing food and water since Monday. He is understood to be protesting at delays in his move to a medium security unit.

Police to get CS spray

A DECISION by the Merseyside police chief constable to issue CS spray to all officers at Liverpool and Everton matches has been greeted with fury by local councillors. They have asked the Home Secretary to intervene after Sir James Sharples told the clubs they had the choice of officers carrying the spray or matches not being policed at all.

Concern at 'offensive' ads

THE public is becoming increasingly concerned with the use of swearing, rude gestures and drug references in advertising, according to a report yesterday by the Advertising Standards Authority.

Research showed growing public alarm at the way both men and women were portrayed as sex objects and, "simply showing gays and lesbians" in advertisements. The majority of people said they were offended if an advertisement or billboard was not deemed suitable for children. Almost one in five people replied that advertisements which were a bad example to children or which were in the wrong place were offensive.

Bianca Jagger tells of ordeal

BIANCA Jagger, former wife of Rolling Stones frontman Mick Jagger, told a committee of MPs yesterday how she was held at gunpoint and interrogated by Serbian forces during a recent visit to Kosovo. She accused the international community of failing the oppressed Albanian community in the region.

The human rights campaigner and senior figure with Amnesty International USA was travelling with a crew from BBC2's Newsnight at the time of the incident, when they were forced at gunpoint to a former factory now used as a military base, and questioned by Serb soldiers.

Prince backs organic farmers

THE Prince of Wales yesterday backed farmers who turn to organic methods to stave off the rural economic crisis. At the end of his four-day annual summer tour of Wales, the prince met farmers whose environmentally-friendly methods are helping them survive.

Big names fail to top the shortlist for Mercury music prize

Dan Glatzer
Arts Correspondent

OASIS, the Spice Girls, All Saints — none of them made it on to the Mercury Music Prize shortlist yesterday, despite all having released eligible — and in some quarters acclaimed — albums in the last year. Instead the nominations were headed by the group that has dominated the past 12 months, The Verve.

The 12-strong list for the best British or Irish album of the year was rounded out with contributions from a selection of the new and the not so new. Robbie Williams's brand of showbiz pop gets this year's Spice vote. Massive Attack represents the gloom merchants and Catatonia the unlikely popsters.

And Mercury veterans Pulp make some sort of history with a nomination for their third album *This Is Hardcore*, thus becoming the only band nominated for all its albums. Pulp won the £20,000 prize in 1996 with *Different Class*.

Presenting the shortlist, the chairman of the judges, Simon Frith, was in upbeat mood: "These albums of the year reveal a new landscape — multi-musical, multi-cultural, ever fascinating and exciting. Take no notice of the doom-sayers. British music is alive and well."

Dismissing the absence of Oasis from the list — their album *Be Here Now* sold 700,000 copies in three days last summer and has been credited by the BFI with having a "dramatic effect" on album sales figures — Mr Frith said: "We don't sit down and work out how many records have been sold. We sit down and listen to records."

Last year was pivotal for the Mercury Music Prize, which this year is sponsored by Technics, but retains the Mercury title despite the disappearance of the Mercury brand name following its

takeover by Cable & Wireless. Drum and bass artist Roni Size and Reprezent won last year's prize, raising the profile of that musical form and winning kudos for the prize, which had been criticised for promoting mainstream acts.

"Last year showed to the outside world that the prize can be very powerful, which I don't think the judges realised," said Mr Frith. "I suppose it helped change the record companies' attitudes to deliver what they had promised."

"It's not ludicrous to think that if you like Robbie Williams you might like John Surman — because I do. The Mercury prize has always said to people, you can listen to music in this way."

One of the surprises on the list is the inclusion of Pulp's *This Is Hardcore*, a poor seller widely reviled by critics on its release. Mr Frith accused critics of misunderstanding the album.

"Popular music is a form in which you can do something and say things that used to be said in novels in another age," said Mr Frith.

The token folk singer on the list, Eliza Carthy, follows in the footsteps of her mother, Norma Waterson, who was nominated two years ago. Her father is the folk singer Martin Carthy.

But despite the pedigree she is unlikely to win the prize, at least according to the bookmakers. Carthy was ranked as an outsider at 16/1, while The Verve were immediately installed as 2/1 favourites.

The newest name on the list is Gomez, a five-piece band from Sheffield, whose album *Bring It On* was submitted as a demo tape to a record company. "They are extremely young but sound like they've been playing for 20 years in an American bar," said Mr Frith.

The winner will be announced on September 16 and broadcast on BBC Radio 1 and in a TV special on BBC2.



Michael Ashcroft of The Verve

The shortlist

Shortlist with judges' comments:

Asian Dub Foundation: Ruffa Revenge
"A passionate, political album that is explosive and thrilling." Odds: 9/1.

Coveredrops: When I Was Born for the 7th Time
"Brims with wit and embraces an unexpected range of sounds." Odds: 10/1.

4-Herz: Two Pages
"A rhythmic framework within which harmonic textures drift and mesh to form a compelling

musical soundscape." Odds: 16/1.

John Surman: Proverbs and Songs
"Stunning combination of choir, church organ and saxophone, recorded live in Salisbury Cathedral. Dramatic meeting of the secular and the sacred." Odds: 16/1.

Robbie Williams: Life Thru a Lens
"Showcase for a great entertainer. Williams seizes the day with his solo debut." Odds: 6/1.

Eliza Carthy: Red Rice
Her "voice and playing blow like

a breath of fresh air through English folk and dance music." Odds: 16/1.

Catatonia: International Velvet
"Radiant and charismatic, Cerys Matthews draws us in with Welsh lyricism and lights up this quirky, adventurous set of songs with her extraordinary voice." Odds: 6/1.

The Verve: Urban Hymns
"A soundtrack to the year. Songs that never lose their power and emotional impact." Odds: 2/1.

Massive Attack: Mezzanine
"Deep, powerful, brooding, dis-

turbing and beautiful." Odds: 5/1.

Gomez: Bring It On
"Intriguing blend of swamp blues, bar-room rock and eerie power. Stunning debut." Odds: 9/1.

Pulp: This Is Hardcore
"Brave and brilliant, this reconfirms Cockfield's notion that pop music can ask awkward questions." Odds: 12/1.

Propellerheads: Decksandrumsandrocknroll
"Lives up to its name with panache, humour and energy." Odds: 12/1.

Hi-tech trimaran to be built as frigate of future

Tim Radford
Science Editor

B RITISH scientists yesterday unveiled what they claim is the first radical change in naval vessel design since the 16th century.

They are to build a £13 million, 90 metre trimaran to be tested as the warship of the future. The research vessel Triton will be a far cry from the sleek racing destroyer of the second world war. It will have a long, slim hull and two outrigger floats to support a platform broad enough to be a helicopter landing pad.

It will be built by Vosper Thornycroft of Southampton, will begin trials in 2000 and will be a test vehicle for the electric-powered stealth warship of the future.

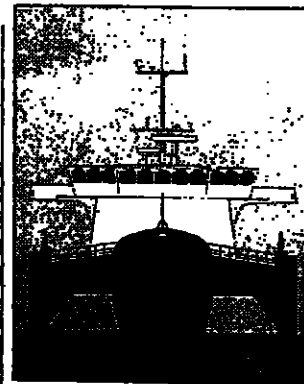
Naval scientists in the US will join in the trials, and allies in Europe and Australia have already expressed interest.

John Chisholm, chief executive of Dera, the government defence research agency, said the design was the most radical step since the Koreans went to war against Japan in the 16th century with the first ironclad galleys.

The planning began at University College London five years ago and shifted to models in test tanks at the agency's laboratory.

But it would take a two-thirds scale prototype at least a winter at sea in the North Atlantic to convince admiralties and governments that the future had three hulls.

The trimaran would offer more deck space for helicopters, hangars and weapons. It would be more stable in stormy seas, and its radar systems could be mounted higher and thus more effectively. Naval architects would experiment with designs to make the ship harder to detect by radar or infra-red cameras. It would offer 20 per cent less resistance as it raced



A sketch of the £13m research vessel Triton head on.

through the sea, permitting either higher speeds or greater fuel saving.

A long thin hull is basically more efficient. That is exactly why second world war destroyers looked like pencils," said Mr Chisholm. "The problem with your pencil of course is that it tends to tip sideways. The fundamental thing is how you stop it tipping sideways while keeping it thin."

Triton will have a range of 3,000 nautical miles, a cruising speed of 12 knots and a top speed of 20 knots. It will be a testbed for electric propulsion, and it will put to sea with 12 scientists — berthed in cabins with en suite showers — 12 crew and 47 square metres of laboratory space.

The Ministry of Defence sees the craft as a candidate for "Future Escort": the design that will replace existing frigates after 2010. A bigger design — future craft could have two or three times the length — will offer more speed.

"Frigates normally go at about 30 knots. At 30 knots the trimaran is looking attractive," said David Andrews of the MoD. "With a monohull the curve of the power goes astronomical. To you end up full of engines and nothing else. The trimaran, because it is so long and thin, requires less power to go as fast as a monohull."

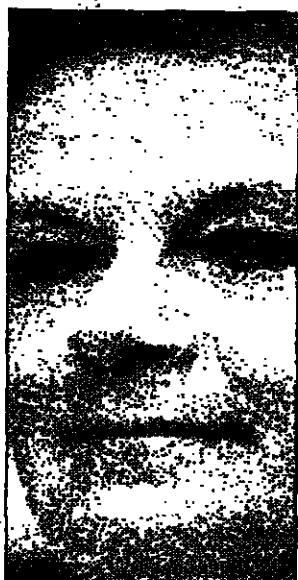
Rescue mission for able operator

HELEN LIDDELL, new Scottish Office Minister, has been sent north on a rescue mission: to stem the rise of the Scottish National Party. She did not want to go and the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, and Treasury civil servants did not want her to go either, as she had built up a formidable reputation as Economic Secretary.

It is not the best of career moves. If, as expected, she takes over from the Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar, next May, she will be going to a job that will make increasingly irrelevant by the new Scottish Parliament.

The Scottish press will give her a torrid time over working for crooked tycoon Robert Maxwell. But her focus will be on the battles with the SNP in the run-up to May's Scottish parliamentary election: she brings organising skills from her time as general secretary of the Scottish Labour Party and a no-nonsense approach to campaigning.

She was brought up in a



working-class Lanarkshire community and still lives in the West of Scotland. She had to tough, as female general secretary of the Scottish Labour Party in a chairmanist region and in her by-election victory in John Smith's old Monklands constituency, the nastiest sectarian contest in Scotland for decades.

She was prominent in the campaign for changing the party's commitment to public ownership, Clause 4.

At the Treasury, she lived up to her reputation for toughness with her handling of the pension mis-selling scandal.

Ewen MacAskill

Practical PR with streak of romance

BRIAN WILSON, the new Trade Minister, brings to the DTI a combination of pragmatism, public relations skills and romantic socialism — especially his championing of land reform in the Scottish Highlands.

He will not be happy leaving the Scottish Office, where he had several roles, including education minister, and would have preferred at least another year to prove wrong the Scottish press, which has been harrasing him since his first days in office, especially in the recent row over university tuition fees.

But once on the move, the DTI was not a surprise as he has a good working relationship with the Trade and Industry Secretary, Peter Mandelson. They worked together during the General Election campaign, where Mr Wilson was in charge of the Excalibur rebuttal system, using his journalistic skills to offer instant reaction to Tory attacks.

He was brought up in Dumfries in Argyll but his heart has



long been in the Highlands, constantly commuting between London, Glasgow and Lewis, and learning Gaelic.

Since becoming MP for Cunninghame North in 1987, he has held several jobs, with his happiest time working with John Prescott's shadow transport team.

The brew at the DTI is an exotic one. Mr Mandelson, Blairite to his toenails, speaking for business, and the Minister for Industry, Ian McCartney, a moderniser with Old Labour tendencies, speaking up for the unions. And Mr Wilson in the middle.

Ewen MacAskill

Pension expert finds right job

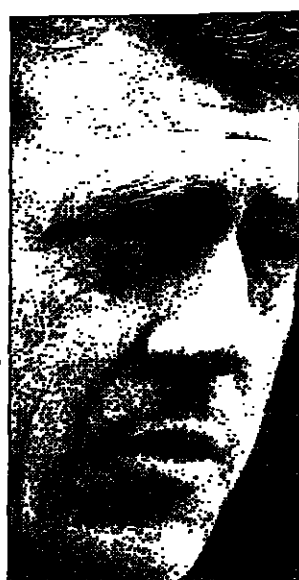
JOHN DENHAM, who moved up one to take Frank Field's job at the Social Services Department, was one of the few southern English Labour MPs from outside London during the 1992-97 parliament.

As MP for Southampton Itchen, he was often quizzed by senior party members about the secret of his success in unlocking the South.

He had another special claim, as a backbencher and later as a frontbencher — an interest in pensions reform. In a party bereft of detailed analysis on the subject, he put forward an alternative to the state pension.

He argued his case at fringe meetings at party conference, to the alarm of traditionalists who saw the state pension as sacred.

There is little sign of a solution but with the arrival of Alastair Darling as the new Secretary of State and the pension review due for publication in the autumn, the pressure is on.



Mr Denham's advice on how to win in the South was always sound, but was ironic coming from someone who was once strongly identified with the left, even briefly as a Trotskyite.

He supported Tony Benn for the deputy leadership against Denis Healey in 1981 and a year later campaigned for "extra-parliamentary action... to establish a democratic socialist society in Britain".

Having moved gradually away from the left, he won Itchen in 1992 by 551 votes, a swing of almost 7 per cent.

Ewen MacAskill

Talent and energy prevail

PATRICIA HEWITT featured in BBC2's series on Labour in exile. The Wilderness Years, standing at the rostrum berating the tired Callaghan leadership of the late 70s from the left. She was not the only such delegate from the Bennite era to find herself a member of Tony Blair's moderate New Labour government this week. But few people arouse such passionate admiration and loathing.

The daughter of Australia's top civil servant (Sir Lennox Hewitt) and an academic mother, she emerged, via Cambridge and pressure group politics, as Neil Kinnock's press secretary.

She failed to win safe Leicester West in the 1987 election and took an unfair share of the blame for that defeat. She bounced back as the driving force behind the creation of the IPPR think-tank.

Back in the team for the '92 campaign, she took the blame for errors in the final week. A lack of easy charm and



charges of opportunism have always made for lots of bitchiness against her on the left. From the right, the jibe is lurking authoritarianism. But talent and energy prevailed. John Smith put her on his Social Justice Commission in 1992-94. From there she moved to be head of research at Andersen Consulting, from which she was credited with importing Labour's "rapid rebuttal" tactics. Yesterday, the 49-year-old MP for Leicester West was made Economic Secretary to the Treasury — one of the biggest promotions of the week.

Michael White

Loyalty is the only label that matters

Ewen MacAskill and Michael White

TONY Blair gave The Project a huge push forward yesterday. He appointed MP after MP known to be enthusiastic about his plans for modernising the party. His advisers insisted that age, sex and the old left-right labels were irrelevant: all that mattered was loyalty.

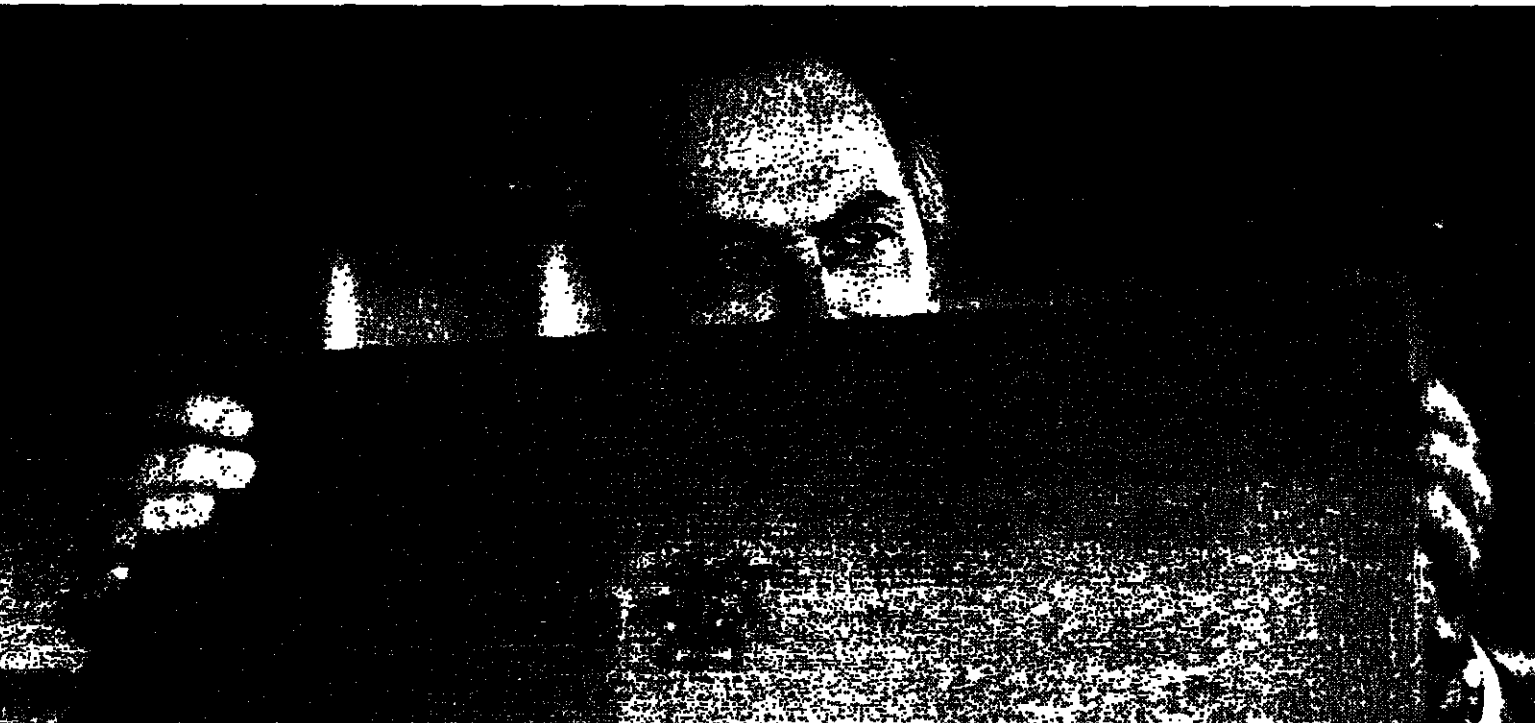
The Cabinet reshuffle on Monday told only half the story. The reshuffle of the middle and junior ranks has almost completed it. Mr Blair has created a Government that, for the most part, reflects his own image.

And yesterday confirmed the gentle purge of the supporters of the Chancellor, Gordon Brown. He saved Geoffrey Robinson, but elsewhere those MPs heavily identified as Brownites were sacked or moved, the careful network he had created wrecked.

Mr Brown, according to one of them, was "extremely upset". One of the victims, speaking out of bitterness or bravado, warned: "I think the Prime Minister does not realise he has introduced civil war to the party."

That may be inflammatory, and Downing Street officials laughed it off. But they know the internet well enough: hence Jack Cunningham's appointment to shut down the networks of gossip that seep into the media. It is not that simple.

What should give Mr Blair at least a tremor of concern is



Dr Jack Cunningham opening up a red box in the new beefed-up Cabinet Office yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: IAN WALSH

that inflammatory language was repeated throughout the day in various guises, from loyal MPs and even a Cabinet minister. "He has institutionalised the feud," the latter said, referring to Mr Brown and Mr Blair's lieutenant, Peter Mandelson, being pitted against each other in economic departments.

There are two scenarios. One is that Mr Blair is now master of all he surveys in the party, ruling by divide and

conquer, leaving Mr Brown and Mr Mandelson to fight over the economy. Mr Blair will expect them to sort it out themselves in the interests of the Government. Even if they do not, he will still be in a stronger position than he was before Monday's reshuffle. He is not likely to see a repeat of the cartoon in last Sunday's Observer, featuring Mr Blair as a monkey and Mr Brown as the organ-grinder.

The other scenario is that he has initiated a period of instability, creating through the inevitable body of disgruntled MPs on the backbenches: seething Brownites out for revenge and angry old-timers who feel they carried the party through the lean times and have not been rewarded. Those who were disappointed in 1997 have little hope now.

Mr Blair has calculated he can rule without the latter and that his new loyal team will carry not only him but

The Project — whatever it is and wherever it is headed — through. Weekend press analysis, suggesting yet again that the Prime Minister is really a Liberal Democrat, only inflames July tempers.

The Brownites had various touchstones. Tom Clarke, the Film Minister, and Nigel Griffiths, the Consumer Affairs Minister, were ultra-loyal to Mr Brown and both sacked, convinced it was because of this loyalty rather than incompetence.

Not many MPs will agree with that assessment. But the pair's dismissal follows the biggest Brownite scalping of all, Nick Brown, the Chief Whip, "promoted" to the Cabinet as Agriculture Minister. Another Brownite, Doug Henderson, Minister for Europe, was spared but moved to the Ministry of Defence, as Armed Forces Minister.

Among Blairites coming into Government for the first time or being promoted were

Margaret Hodge, former leader of Islington Council and an old neighbour of Mr Blair, who becomes an education minister, and John McFall, a whip who helped to organise Mr Blair's leadership campaign in 1994 and who joins the Northern Ireland team.

Joining Jack Cunningham in the revamped Cabinet Office as deputy enforcer is another Blairite, Lord Falconer, who shared a flat with Mr Blair when he was a young lawyer. Ross Cranston replaces him as Solicitor General, one of the three Class of '97 ministers.

As well as establishing the supremacy of the Blairites, the reshuffle gives a more pro-European tint to the Government. Joyce Quinn, new Minister for Europe, is so pro-European that she speaks foreign languages well enough to be allowed on European TV.

Other newcomers or people on the way up include sporty

Kate Hoey, MP for Vauxhall, a rare Labour pro-Unionist from Northern Ireland, now at the Home Office, where Lord (Gareth) Williams gets a promotion.

Alan Howarth, the Tory refugee, is switched to the Ministry of Culture, Kim Howells goes from the Department for Education and Employment, where he ran higher education with a boisterous hand, to Nigel Griffiths' job.

Rumours that Lord (Melvyn) Bragg would get an arts post faded. It went to Janet Anderson, one of the whips' office Blairite "Spice Girls".

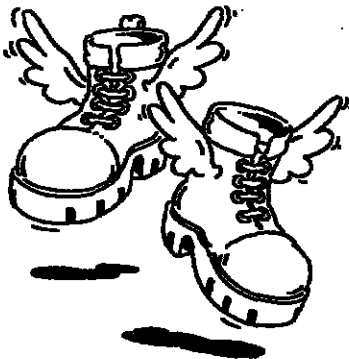
Geoff Hoon, Lord Irvine's saintly deputy got an up grade. Angela Eagle switched from Environment, Transport and the Regions to Social Security.

So did nice Stephen Timmins, former leader of Newham council. Such a promotion leaves other backbenchers in eternal hope.

Blair's junior team

Attorney General	John Moore
Lord Advocate	Lord Piche
Solicitor General	Ross Cranston
Secretary of State for Scotland	Colin Boyd
Ministers of State in the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions	Michael Meacher, Hilary Armstrong, Lord Williams of Desha
Junior Ministers in the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions	Nick Raynsford, Glenda Jackson, Lord Whitty, Alan Meale
Prime Minister's Secretary	Geoffrey Robinson
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Dawn Primorac
Economic Secretary to the Treasury	Patricia Hewitt
Ministers of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office	Derek Fatchett, Joyce Chen, Terry Lloyd
Junior Foreign Office Minister	Baroness Symons of Vartham Deep
Minister of State in the Lord Chancellor's Department	Gaëlle Hahn
Home Office Minister of State	Alan Michael, Lord Williams of Mostyn
Junior Home Office Ministers	George Howarth, Mike O'Brien, Kate Hoey
Minister of State for Education and Employment	Andrew Smith, Estelle Morris, Baroness Blatchford
Junior Ministers for Education and Employment	Charles Clarke, George Howarth, George Fidgeon
Minister of State for Trade and Industry	John Birt, Ian McCartney, Brian Wilson, Lord Simon of Highbury
Junior Trade and Industry Ministers	Kim Howells, Barbara Roche, Lord Salisbury of Torridge
Minister of State and Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	John Grieve
Junior Ministers for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	Elliot Morley, Lord Dubs
Scottish Office Ministers of State	Helen Liddell, Henry McLeish
Junior Scottish Office Ministers	Lord Sewell, Dr Sam Galbraith, Cathie MacDonell
Ministers of State for Wales	Lord Gilbert, Doug Henderson
Junior Ministers of State	John Spiller
Health Ministers of State	Joan Joseph, Alan Milburn
Junior Ministers of State	Paul Boateng, Baroness Hymans
Ministers of State for Culture, Media and Sport	Tony Banks, Alan Howarth, Stephen Timmins
Social Security Minister of State	John Denham
Junior Social Security Minister	Baroness Halls of Helham, Angela Eagle, Stephen Timmins
Ministers of State of State	Adam Ingram, Paul Murphy
Junior Northern Ireland Ministers	John McFall, Lord Dubs
Junior Welsh Office Ministers	Peter Hain, Jon Owen Jones
Junior International Development Minister	Geoffrey Fookes
Cabinet Office Minister of State	Lord Falconer of Thoroton
Junior Cabinet Office Minister	Peter Kilroy
Deputy Chief Whip	Lord McIntosh of Haringey
Lord in Waiting	Lord Hart of Kings Heath and Lord Hogg
Baroness in Waiting	Baroness Farnborough of Ribblesdale, Baroness Ramsey of Cartmel, Baroness Amos
Deputy Chief Whip and Treasurer of HM Household	Kath Bradley
Comptroller of HM Household	Thomas McNulty
Vice Chamberlain of HM Household	Graham Allen
Lord Commissioner Robert Ainsworth, James Dowd, Olive Betts, David Jamieson, Jane Kennedy	
Important Government Whip	Anne McGuire, David Horsant, David Chalmers, Michael Felt, Keith Pitt, Kevin Hughes, Greg Pope

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Drinks on the terrace with Hurley and Grant as ex-film minister Clarke goes out in style

Michael White

AT LEAST Tom Clarke went out in style. As news of his dismissal as minister for film and tourism spread through the Palace of Westminster on Monday night, it was followed by word that he was having a drink on the terrace with Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant.

Not every sackee was so lucky, though most were dignified. "It's a rough old business," said more than one. Amid the bitterness there was criticism of the ritual. "It's part of the summer season. Like Henley and Ascot. Why don't we change people one at a time throughout the year?" said a survivor.

Some ex-ministers were more philosophical. "Congratulations on being made a privy councillor, Stanley," someone said to the veteran trade minister, Lord Stanley Clinton-Davis. "I think it's a consolation prize, he's just called me in to see him. But I am 69," the soon-to-be-ex-trade minister replied. He has had a good run, including a spell as an EU commissioner.

Leaving office with Mon-



Tom Clarke with Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant on the Commons terrace after receiving news of his dismissal

day's four Cabinet departures (plus Frank Field) were also Win Griffiths (Welsh Office) and Nigel Griffiths, aged 43, the volatile and accident-prone minister for consumer affairs. Welsh Labour MPs protested at their hard-working colleague's dismissal at

55. "This dismissal is cruel, unjust and futile. He has done a good job and there is no reason at all to move him," said Newport West's Paul Flynn.

But these things are rarely personal. Junior Northern Ireland minister Tony Worthington was

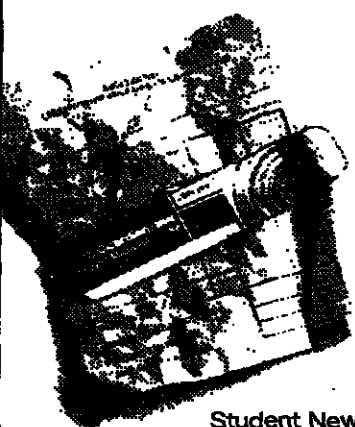
more realistic about being a pawn on the board. "Obviously I am very disappointed to have lost the job, but I knew I was vulnerable. When so many Cabinet ministers are in their 40s, junior ministers in their 50s have a short shelf life," he said.

Mr Clarke was on borrowed time in one sense. An elected shadow cabinet member, like David Clark and Gavin Strang, he did not get a real Cabinet post last May. It was "take it or leave it." As a film buff he took it, but such Old Labour MPs were always going to be vulnerable and Mr Clarke had a further problem.

It was widely believed that the organising power of Gordon Brown's campaign team was put behind Mr Clarke in the shadow elections two years ago. And who got bumped as a result? Why, Jack Cunningham, the man who has bounced back with a vengeance this week. That could have serious long-term repercussions.

Nigel Griffiths was also a Brown client, though his behaviour as a minister raised eyebrows. He put himself beyond safety last week when he predicted he would not be sacked.

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6 WORLD NEWS

News in brief

China urges all-out effort to stop flood

DIKES held back a third flood crest on the middle reaches of the Yangtze yesterday as China called for a "do or die" effort to protect millions of people living along the river.

With waters on the Yangtze at their highest levels in 44 years, nearly 5 million people in five provinces were mobilised to help ensure embankments held firm, the official Liberation Army daily said. An all-out effort is needed to ensure the flood crest does not undermine the dikes, already weakened by heavy rains and high waters, the official Xinhua news agency said.

The flood peak passed Tuesday in Hunan province without incident yesterday and was moving through Wuhan, which has more than 7 million residents.

Floods caused by heavy rains have killed more than 1,145 people this year. Almost a million people have been forced from their homes in the three worst-hit provinces — Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi. — AP, Yueyang.

Einstein's house stays in family

SIXTY-FIVE years after Albert Einstein fled Hitler's Germany, his summer house outside Berlin, which was seized by the Nazis and used by East Germany's communists, is about to be returned to the physicist's heirs. The five-story wooden structure in Caputh, near Potsdam, has been the subject of legal wrangling since German reunification in 1990.

The asset rulings agency in Potsdam has named 12 heirs to the property, including Einstein's daughter Eva Kaysner, aged 87, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and an eye clinic in Princeton.

Locals had resisted the Einstein family claim on the property, leading to accusations that they planned to turn it into a tourist attraction. The 12 heirs will decide how it will be used after expensive repair work. — Denis Staunton, Berlin.

Judge backs Branson in suit

THE threat to Richard Branson and the Virgin Atlantic airline from a racial and sexual harassment lawsuit by a former employee appeared to have diminished yesterday after a New York judge threw out all allegations against Mr Branson personally.

Judge Miriam Cederbaum ruled that the airline could produce evidence about the sex life of one of its executives which caused the claimant to withdraw an allegation that she was fired because she refused to have an abortion.

Mr Branson said Virgin Atlantic would fight her remaining claims of racial harassment. "We are going to fight to protect our reputation," he said. — Joanna Coles, New York.

Suu Kyi stand-off continues

THE Burmese pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi was visited by her doctors yesterday as neither the democracy campaigner nor the government retreated from their five-day stand-off on a road outside Rangoon.

Ms Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, an aide and two drivers were stopped by soldiers on the road as they attempted to drive out of the capital to meet NLD members.

"The provisions in the car — water and edibles — are nearly exhausted. Before her health condition fails, the NLD party should be allowed to proceed on their journey," the NLD said as Ms Suu Kyi prepared to spend a fifth night in her car.

On Monday the United States secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, said the US would hold the Burmese junta responsible for Ms Suu Kyi's health and safety. — AP, Rangoon.

Slayings shock Swiss

FOUR men were shot dead in a gangland-style attack on a tea room in the diplomatic quarter of the usually placid Swiss capital, Bern, police said yesterday. The unknown attackers escaped.

Officers found the bodies of the men lying in the back of the Safari Tea Room. Neighbours called police late on Monday evening when they heard the windows breaking at the tea room, a 10-minute walk from the main railway station in the city centre.

The Italian consulate and the Canadian and Jordanian embassies are among other tenants of the building but a spokesman for the state prosecutor said there appeared to be no connection between the slayings and the diplomatic missions. — AP, Bern.



Serb forces watch Junik after surrounding the ethnic Albanian stronghold in western Kosovo. They gave civilians and KLA rebels an hour to leave, but none did.

PHOTOGRAPH: SERJAN LUC

Nato plans Kosovo action

Serb forces surround rebels' border stronghold

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

NATO is finalising plans to contain the fighting in Kosovo while signalling its reluctance to use "coercive" military measures. The moves come as the latest upsurge in violence spurs Western governments to seek a diplomatic solution.

As European powers monitor the Serbian offensive in the territory amid signs that conflict could spill into neighbouring countries, officials in Brussels insisted yesterday that Nato is ready to act despite a preference for negotiation.

In recent weeks, Nato threats of direct intervention have given way to a search for ways to stem the progress of the independence-seeking Kosovo Liberation Army and

force it to deal with President Slobodan Milosevic. Nato sources said they have prepared "coercive measures" to use against both sides, but warned that any action against the Serbs would require the destruction of the entire air defence system, while the mobile guerrilla forces of the KLA present no obvious target without the use of ground troops.

"The big question is how you pressure Milosevic without becoming the air force of the KLA," one official said. "You have to be very clear about what you can achieve before you use it."

Diplomats also say that Serbia's use of violence is neither indiscriminate nor disproportionate in the way that it was when killings by troops and special police in March galvanised Nato to issue its first warnings of intervention. Western governments say

SERBIAN police and Yugoslav army troops were yesterday surrounding a rebel stronghold close to the Albanian border where several thousand Kosovo Liberation Army fighters and civilians were preparing to make a stand.

Refugees were attempting to flee from Junik as KLA

guerrillas counter-attacked along the main east-west road seized by government units at the weekend after a two-month blockade.

Serb security forces captured the rebel town of Malisevo, in western Kosovo, after ethnic Albanian guerrillas fled the area with thousands of refugees.

The intensifying conflict has spurred efforts to seek a diplomatic solution. In Belgrade, Austrian diplomats, whose country now holds the European Union's rotating presidency, said an EU delegation would meet Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic tomorrow. — Agencies.

looking at options that fall between independence and autonomy. Mr Milosevic has spoken recently of granting autonomy to "ethnic minorities", although this is little more than a face-saving formula.

Western positions range from "enhanced autonomy" to "self-determination" — still compatible with the primary concern, maintaining the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

"There are some very conflicting signals coming out of Belgrade," one well-placed official said last night. "The trick is to get both sides to sit down at the table and to feel there is more to be gained by that than by fighting."

"Things have not been going Milosevic's way over the last few months and he seems to be coming round to the realisation that this is not a war he can win by military force."

they are looking at measures to "stabilise" Albania to prevent it sliding into conflict because of cross-border raids by the KLA and escalating rhetoric between Tirana and Belgrade. These measures range from tightening border controls and checkpoints in the infiltration zone, to deploying Nato troops in the border area, possibly under cover of a military exercise in Albania.

But with obvious difficulties for any military move — and near certain opposition from Russia, instinctively sympathetic to the Serbs — Nato governments are continuing their search for a diplomatic solution with a team of three senior European Union officials in Pristina, Kosovo's main town, today and Belgrade tomorrow. The aim is to persuade President Milosevic to

start talks with the Kosovo Albanians, and persuade the KLA to team up with moderate political parties who are prepared to negotiate.

Both Mr Milosevic and the big powers rule out independence for Kosovo, although most of its ethnic Albanians believe it is the only viable way to end their oppression. The six-nation Contact Group on former Yugoslavia is

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Happy jobless laugh off the German work ethic

Denis Staunton in Berlin

WORKERS of the world unite: you have nothing to lose but your shame. That's the message from Germany's group of the Happy Unemployed.

While politicians argue about how to get 4 million jobless Germans off the dole, this group of unemployed Berliners have become crusaders for idleness, arguing that they are doing the state a favour by doing nothing.

Since issuing its manifesto a few weeks ago, the group has received hundreds of letters from unemployed people who fear that an economic upturn could force them back into work. For many life began the moment they lost their job.

"I've learnt to paint and compose on the synthesiser. I've become creative and go to parties. I need time because I have one girlfriend in Cologne and another in Düsseldorf," a man from Aachen wrote.

The manifesto, At Last I Have Time, argues that the unemployed are cowed by peer pressure into pretending that they want to work. "The obligation to work is a big problem."

He believes the happily unemployed should be rewarded for leaving jobs free for those who enjoy work. He claims that the economy requires a certain level of unemployment to keep inflation low and argues that, since the stock market rewards companies that lay off staff, sacked workers often generate more profit than those who remain employed.

But the authorities show no sign of taking off on the workshy, as an unemployed woman from Koblenz wrote in the group's manifesto.

"For the past four years I have been happily out of work, or free of work as I call it," she wrote. "Unfortunately, my happiness is disturbed time and again by the employment office."

British-French trade row looms on cotton

Martin Walker in Brussels

PETER MANDELSON, the new Trade and Industry Secretary, faces a baptism of fire in a trade war with France.

The European Commission today launches a plan for anti-dumping duties on cotton. The British cotton industry claims that up to 200,000 jobs could be at risk from the new duties, all because President Jacques Chirac has pledged to defend the interests of 10,000 French cotton workers.

Britain has hitherto held together the support of eight of the 15 European Union member states against the duties. But Austria looks poised to switch sides after the Commission made concessions to protect its specialist tapestry industry.

Led by Mr Chirac, France has lobbied intensively to persuade the Commission and a majority of member states to impose a permanent 12 per cent duty on unbleached cotton fabrics from India, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and

China. Those countries are judged to be "dumping" — selling goods in Europe for a lower price than at home.

The Commission in April imposed a temporary anti-dumping tariff of 15 per cent. This can last only for six months unless the member states formally endorse the new duties. With Austria expected to switch its vote at the next Council meeting in September, Mr Mandelson faces a battle to stave off the duties that threaten tens of thousands of British jobs.

The chairman of the British parliamentary all-party committee for textiles, Philip Woollas MP, estimates that 25,000 of 48,000 British jobs in the industry have been lost this year.

Arlene McCarthy, Labour MEP for the Peak District, said textile plants in her constituency will close if the new duties are imposed. "There has been a secret compromise behind closed doors," she said.

But Commission spokesmen dismissed the concerns as exaggerated. "We think the impact on the textile industry will be marginal," a source

said. "We have made detailed studies which show that European cotton weavers are being damaged by the dumping, while the duties should not hurt the textile industry."

But other Commission officials said there had been intense pressure from Paris both to impose the duties, and to overturn previous votes against them by the member states. A majority of member states overturned two earlier attempts by the Commission to impose the duties. But the Commission reimposed "provisional duties" on each occasion.

"This is an object lesson in the skillful ways France uses the Commission mechanism to defend its national interests, whatever the price may be to other member states," said one official.

Anti-dumping duties are being used increasingly as a way to get around the free trade and free market agreements which successive British and United States governments have promoted. The EU has imposed them on everything from microchips to mountain bikes.

Chess crisis after murder

James Mack in Moscow

THE murder of a campaigning journalist has plunged the world of international chess into crisis only weeks before more than a thousand international players gather in a dusty steppe region of southern Russia for the 1998 Chess Olympiad.

A coalition of Russian civil rights organisations has appealed to national chess federations not to send teams to the Olympiad, due to be held in September in Kalmykia, a semi-desert territory on the shores of the Caspian Sea ruled over by Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, who is also the head of the main world chess body, Fide.

The journalist, Larissa Yudina, editor of the only opposition newspaper in Kalmykia, was murdered on June 7. Her paper had been consistently critical of Mr Ilyumzhinov, accusing him of corruption and incompetence on a massive scale.

In turn he persecuted Yudina, forcing her to print the paper in another part of Russia. One of the men arrested and charged with the murder was a former Ilyumzhinov aide.

The appeal, signed by 14 of Russia's most prominent civil rights campaigners, said that the newly built "Chess City" in the Kalmyk capital, Elista, where Olympic players and officials will stay during the tournament, had been built with Russian government money intended for social security and for investment in the industry and agriculture of the desperately poor region.

"When you look out of the windows of Chess City to the nearby Amber Pond, you should know that several

months ago, in this very pond, the mutilated body of the editor of Kalmykia's only opposition newspaper was found," the appeal said.

Yudina had often written about the crooked means used to channel money into chess, it went on. "The winners will receive prizes. But these prizes are paid for by illegal requisitions from the people of Kalmykia — every citizen of the region is obliged to invest money in the Olympics."

Mr Ilyumzhinov, first elected in 1993, held fresh elections in 1998 which were illegal under the Russian constitution. No action has been taken against him by the Kremlin, grateful for stability in the republic and for Mr Ilyumzhinov's ability to deliver votes when necessary, channelling the historically Buddhist, ethnically non-Slavic Kalmyks.

مكتبة الامير

A public prepared to overlook sexual indiscretions may not forgive if US leader is proved to have lied under oath. Mark Tran reports

The past closes in on the president

Long pursuit by prosecutor has Clinton on run

AS LONG as Monica Lewinsky stayed silent, there was little pressure on President Clinton to respond to requests by prosecutors for him to testify about his relationship with the former White House intern.

When the presidential spokesman, Mike McCurry, announced his resignation last week, the White House spin was that the Lewinsky matter was well under control and that it was a safe time for the effective and long-suffering Mr McCurry to leave.

Any sense of complacency, however, has been shattered after the rapid developments of recent days, starting with a subpoena issued last week requiring Mr Clinton to testify to a grand jury looking into the Lewinsky case — the first subpoena issued against a sitting president to appear in connection with a criminal investigation.

Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor driving the investigation, has for six months been looking into whether Mr Clinton and Ms Lewinsky lied under oath about the nature of their relationship and then

admits, that Ms Lewinsky had succumbed and was rewarded with a government job.

In a response to that subpoena, Ms Lewinsky filed a sworn statement saying she had no such relationship with Mr Clinton. He, too, denied "sexual relations" with Ms Lewinsky, both on television and in his own deposition in the Paula Jones case.

But Linda Tripp, a friend of Ms Lewinsky, had recorded telephone conversations she had with Ms Lewinsky in which the latter was reported to have alluded to efforts by Mr Clinton and others to influence her testimony in the Jones case.

Mr Starr then asked for and received authorisation to expand the long-running Whitewater inquiry — an investigation that has so far cost \$40 million (\$24 million) — to look into whether there was a cover-up in the Lewinsky matter.

The public has so far looked indulgently on reports of Mr Clinton's alleged trysts or sexual indiscretions, a list that includes Gennifer Flowers, Ms Jones, Kathleen Willey and Ms Lewinsky.

But they may be less indulgent this time, if they feel Mr Clinton lied to them on television, and in his Paula Jones deposition.

With Ms Lewinsky apparently having confirmed to Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York this week that she did have a sexual relationship with the president, Mr Clinton would have to address her statement if he agreed to testify in whatever format can be devised to preserve whatever is left of his dignity. Video testimony is one option.

The president would also have to confront mounds of evidence and testimony likely to put him and Ms Lewinsky together on repeated occasions. This includes material from secret service testimony, White House records and White House officials.

Mr Clinton would be forced to try to explain each encounter. Last week, a secret service officer told investigators that on a weekend day in 1996, he and Harold Ickes, the deputy White House chief of staff, saw the president and Ms Lewinsky together in Mr Clinton's bedroom off the Oval Office. Mr Ickes has denied the story.

Some legal experts and some of Mr Clinton's advisers are urging him to tough it out by refusing to comply with Mr Starr's subpoena and challenging its legality all the way to the supreme court.

But Republicans are threatening to start impeachment proceedings should the president resist the subpoena. Democrats on Capitol Hill have indicated that they are not prepared to back their leader if he refuses to testify.

And impeachment proceedings — pitting a Democratic president against a Republican Congress — would paralyse the American government. The pressure would be on Mr Clinton to resign.

The Guardian's Clinton website is at <http://reporting.guardian.co.uk/clinton>

Key players in heightening drama



MONICA LEWINSKY could go down in history as the star-struck White House intern from Oregon who brought down the Clinton presidency. She started work at the White House in December 1995. She supposedly caught the president's eye. He gave her gifts — subsequently retrieved by the FBI.

White House colleagues remember her as pushy and self-aggrandising, hinting at "political connections". In the tapes made by Linda Tripp, she talks of a relationship with

a man referred to as "the big he" and "the creep". The 17-hour tapes include references to phone messages left by Clinton on Lewinsky's voicemail. Lewinsky's descriptions of sex with him in a room off the Oval Office, and the president's argument that he did not think oral sex constituted adultery.

In her conversations with the Starr legal team Lewinsky is prepared to say she had a sexual relationship with Clinton but that he did not ask her to lie about it.

BETTY CURRIE was an obscure public servant as Clinton's personal secretary. Then the Lewinsky scandal ensured the nearest thing to an innocent bystander. As the White House gatekeeper, she had a desk in the anteroom of the Oval Office. According to White House officials, when Lewinsky visited the president after she had left the White House, it was typically Currie who cleared her in.

It was Currie, according to Jordan, who asked him to help Lewinsky. And, according to Starr's office, it was Currie who retrieved the president's gifts.



HILLARY CLINTON has stood by her man probably more times than she cares to remember. There was that interview during the first presidential campaign in 1992, when reports of an affair between her husband and Gennifer Flowers threatened to sink him. After a few days of disarray when the Lewinsky scandal erupted six months ago the First Lady took charge, denouncing Kenneth Starr on the NBC Today Show as a "politically motivated prosecutor allied with rightwing opponents of my husband", and citing a "vast rightwing conspiracy that has hounded my husband since the day he announced for president". Her spirited counter-offensive helped stem the tide.

Mrs Clinton has had her own brushes with Starr, having had to testify before a grand jury at one point. She has been linked to Whitewater, Travelgate and shenanigans at the Rose law firm in Arkansas, but reports that she might be indicted have vanished. Lately, she has travelled around the country to raise public awareness of historic monuments in need of repair. She has not been heard yet in the latest Lewinsky flurry but, "the most admired woman in America" according to a Gallup poll in January, she can be counted on to stand by her man.



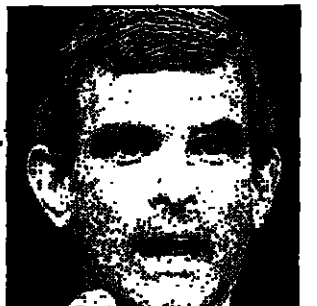
LINDA TRIPP came to the White House in 1991, during the Bush administration, and was later executive assistant to Bruce Lindsey. A flashy dresser, she was known as "the Wicked Witch of the West Wing" because of her penchant for intrigue. Married to an army colonel, she moved to the Pentagon's public affairs office in 1994, where she became a confidante of Lewinsky. The idea to tape her came from her friend Lucianne Goldberg, a New York literary agent and Clinton foe. Tripp said she wanted evidence to protect herself in case she was questioned about Willey.



KENNETH STARR was appointed in 1994 to lead the US government's investigation into the Whitewater property deal. The White House has accused Starr, who was solicitor-general under the Bush administration of pursuing a witch-hunt. Six months ago Starr opened his investigation into allegations of a sexual relationship between the president and Lewinsky. He has compiled hundreds of pages on his \$40 million investigations, and is expected to hand them over to a Republican Congress, for it to decide whether to impeach.



VERNON JORDAN is Washington's Mr Smooth, an African-American who is the ultimate insider. He was dragged into the Lewinsky scandal because he tried to land the intern job in New York. Ronald Perleman, the New York tycoon, offered her a post which was withdrawn when the scandal broke. Jordan worked on behalf of Lewinsky even after she was subpoenaed in the Paula Jones case last December. His lawyers said he asked Clinton about the allegations and was told: no sex, no time. Reassured, he fixed up a job for Lewinsky, informing the president of his progress.



BRUCE LINDSEY, an Arkansas lawyer who has known Clinton for 30 years, is the White House troubleshooter, adviser and damage-controller. Now that a federal court has thrown out the White House argument of attorney-client privilege, Lindsey has been subpoenaed because of conversations he had last year with Linda Tripp. Tripp came to Lindsey after reporters began inquiring about a 1993 episode in which she allegedly saw the White House volunteer Kathleen Willey near the Oval Office with her blouse unbuttoned and makeup smeared.

Any sense of complacency in the Clinton camp has been shattered after the rapid developments of recent days

sought to cover it up — such a cover-up constituting a criminal offence.

He deems this issue to be part of the investigation he was hired to pursue in 1994, an inquiry into whether Mr Clinton and his wife lied about their role in a 1995 Arkansas investment deal, the Whitewater property development.

As Mr Starr was negotiating yesterday with Mr Clinton's personal lawyer, David Kendall, on how the president should testify, the first of two blows landed on the president: a federal appeals court ordered one of his closest confidants and advisers, Bruce Lindsey, to submit to grand jury questioning in the Lewinsky investigation.

"A government attorney may not invoke the attorney-client privilege in response to grand jury questions seeking information relating to the possible commission of a federal crime," the court ruling said.

Then came the news that Ms Lewinsky had struck a tentative immunity deal after long talks with Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York.

Ms Lewinsky was first subpoenaed late last year by lawyers in a private lawsuit brought by Paula Jones, a woman who says she was propositioned by Mr Clinton in an Arkansas hotel room while he was governor of that state. Ms Jones's lawyers hoped that Ms Lewinsky would support their contention that Mr Clinton habitually preyed on women subor-

Opposition cries foul in Cambodian poll count

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Phnom Penh

FEARS of political turmoil returned to Cambodia yesterday as leaders of two main opposition parties declared a foul in last weekend's parliamentary elections only hours after international observers praised them as free and fair, and even as a miracle.

Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the ousted first prime minister and the former finance minister Sam Rainsy jointly announced they would not recognise the result until irregularities they allege in the counting of votes are investigated and voting takes place again in some contested areas.

Their protest came after the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP), led by Hun Sen, claimed victory in the election, predicting it would take 65 to 67 seats in the 122-seat national assembly. The CPP estimated that with more than 90 per cent of the votes

counted, Prince Ranariddh's party, Funcinpec, would win 42 to 45 seats, and the Sam Rainsy party would take 13. By these estimates, the CPP would increase its presence by 11 seats, after a campaign in which noticeably larger crowds turned out for opposition rallies.

The CPP claim deepened opposition suspicion of fraud, already aroused by unexplained delays in the counting and the slow release of official results. By yesterday morning the national election committee had announced only partial results for two provinces. In both the CPP led.

"They stole our vote," Mr Rainsy claimed. "Had there not been any fraud, we would be in the majority." He promised the opposition would challenge the result "in all legal and peaceful ways". As a first step, he said, several parties had agreed to take part in a press conference today challenging the result. The two opposition leaders also announced that

their parties would not take their seats in the new national assembly, threatening to halt its proceedings.

Independent observers were doubtful whether irregularities in the count were sufficiently significant to affect the outcome, but noted that the CPP's claimed tally matched the target they had set.

"How could they win that many seats? Wherever I've gone people do not believe the result announced by the CPP," said Leo Mong Hal, the director of the politically neutral Khmer Institute of Democracy. "I am very disappointed. We had a good polling day, now something really is going on. It was a historic day, now there are tensions around town."

The fraud charges switched the mood in Phnom Penh from hope for elusive stability to fears of a return to the conflicts which developed after the last election in 1993 and led to last year's coup in which Mr Hun Sen ousted Prince Ranariddh.

The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, said that "we have seen the democratic process in Cambodia unravel before" and urged the international community to "keep the pressure on".

The fraud charges also cast new doubt over the findings of the international observers. Only hours earlier, the United Nations co-ordinated joint international observer group declared that from what it had seen, the election "was a process which was free and fair to an extent that enables it to reflect the will of the Cambodian people".

Stephen Solarz, joint leader of a team of mainly American observers, said history would record the poll as "a miracle". But the UN group's rush to issue a statement drew criticism. Some observers noted that a much debated reference to "free and fair" elections was included largely at the insistence of members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean), which is considering Cambodia's membership application.

Spielberg film revives trauma for war veterans

Joanna Coles in East Hampton, Long Island

STEVEN Spielberg's latest film, which depicts the second world war so graphically that the director has banned his teenage son from seeing it, has triggered traumatic memories for so many veterans that a hotline has been set up to help them.

Counsellors at the US department of veterans affairs say dozens of men who fought during the war suffered post traumatic stress disorder which for some has been revived by Saving Pri-

vate Ryan. The film stars Tom Hanks and Matt Damon as soldiers landing at Omaha Beach, Normandy.

"Seeing that movie opens up the emotional floodgates," said William Weitz, a clinical psychologist at the Palm Beach branch of the veterans' affairs department. "Fifty years is nothing," Mr Weitz said, adding that many veterans still vividly remember what happened in Normandy. One symptom of post traumatic stress disorder is flashbacks; another is feeling guilty for having survived.

At the national stress disorder centre in Vermont,

Paula Schnurr, a psychiatrist, said many veterans had been surprised to be overcome by their memories, but she said it was essential for them to know this was a normal reaction. "Education can go a long way towards normalising the experience, which can be terrifying," she said.

With receipts of about \$18 million less than a week after it opened, the film has been hailed, alongside classics such as The Bridge on the River Kwai, as one of the greatest war films.

The New York Times said: "This is as close as one gen-

eration can come to an artistic knowledge of war elicited from the first-hand experience of its elders."

America Online, the biggest US Internet provider, said it had received more than 10,000 messages since the film opened. Many reported local cinema's full of weeping elderly men. One said: "The world we live in now, the 90s, has no idea how good we have it." The director, meanwhile, has told his staff he does not wish to read any reviews. Instead he is holed up at his East Hampton barn with his family awaiting his week-end guests, the Clintons.

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The world in which fish inhabit does not require them to watch cricket matches or listen to the speeches of William Hague. Do fish yawn?
N&Q, G2 page 7

Star mum delivers end to speculation

Alex Bellos in Rio de Janeiro

NINE months of speculation ended yesterday when Latin America's most famous woman, the Brazilian children's television presenter Xuxa Meneghel, gave birth to a healthy baby girl.

Since the eternally youthful 35-year-old former soft porn star stunned the country last year by announcing on live television that she was expecting a child, the media has provided almost daily updates on her pregnancy.

Sasha Meneghel Szafr was born in a Rio de Janeiro clinic where the atmosphere was more like "a Hollywood superproduction" than a maternity ward, according to the daily O Globo.

Xuxa (pronounced shoosha) has attracted scandal as well as success since she moved in with former footballer Pele as a teenage model. She later dated the late rock star Ayrton Senna.

For the last 10 years her weekly children's show — in which she prances around in high-heeled boots and sequined outfits — has drawn criticism that she is a bad role model for children. The controversy intensified when Xuxa made it clear that she would not marry her baby's father, soap star Luciano Szafr, offending the world's largest Catholic community only weeks after Pope John Paul II toured Brazil preaching family values.

"Xuxa never represented any moral standard," the Very Rev Jesus Rutila, a theologian and dean of Rio's Pontifical Catholic University, said. "Her

whole love life contradicts Catholic morals."

Mr Szafr's parents accused Xuxa of using their son as a "luxury stud", and the couple split up.

Xuxa is believed to have amassed a \$30 million fortune and has a merchandising empire that includes endorsements of more than 150 products. She is the richest businesswoman on the continent and was the only South American to appear in a recent list of the world's 100 most powerful women. Since becoming pregnant she has signed deals with baby product companies, including one for her own-label nappies.

Her show is broadcast all over Latin America. Two years ago she abandoned an attempt to break into the United States after parent groups objected to her skimpy outfits.



Xuxa: The media has closely followed her pregnancy

Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

A BIZARRE outbreak of interecine strife plagues the Hull and East Riding Race Equality Council. Last week's meeting nearly ended in uproar as rival factions rowed over the removal of the previous chairman. Only a dread threat from Lord Mayor Gordon Caseton, the Hull Daily Mail reports, removed the Council's £50,000 grant restored some semblance of order. Oh dear. The Hull REC's efforts to set an example of harmonious mutual respect have struggled for a while. As recently as March, a certain Kishore Pilling felt compelled to send a memo to all staff, paid and unpaid, admonishing: "Following a number of complaints from our female clients and students, who have been upset or felt threatened, we must ask all male workers (including members of the Executive Committee) to please refrain from attempting conversation with female clients."

N EWS arrives of Ivor Richard's final (and some will say greatest) contribution to government before he was sacked as leader of the Lords to make way for the Baroness Jay. He has safely ushered through a bicycle allowance of £6.2p per mile for their lordships. No evidence of the journey having been made will be required. "Peers always claim on their honor," as Lord Richard put it when moving the allowance. Significantly, following heated debate in the Lords, this measure will apply to tricycles. There is no word as to whether this will extend as far as bicycles with stabilisers.

B Y way of a service to employees at the DTI who may be unfamiliar with their new young master, we are pleased — indeed, we are overjoyed — to publish at last a picture (below) of Oofy Wegg-Prosser (then an undergraduate). Is he not adorable? DTI staff are advised that Oofy is friendly and good-natured, but as he is a special assistant to Mandy Mandelson, a core of steel lurks beneath the surface. As any young woman who finds themselves taking a fancy, you may send us your letters of introduction (accompanied by two passport-size photos), which we will gladly forward.



Undergraduate Oofy

M EANWHILE, Oofy's pal and recent holiday companion, Dolly Draper, continues to be scapegoated. Poor Dolly is being blamed by Friends of the Earth for the much distasteful West of Stevenage housing development. According to FOR, "Dolly Draper claims to have organised private meetings between the house builders' federation and a member of the No 10 policy unit to discuss which green belt might be suitable for housing development." However, as we know, no force on earth can dent Dolly's sublime self-confidence. On Monday, sporting a new spiky haircut, he cropped up on Newsnight to opine about the reshuffle, and he is said to be jaunty than ever. "The last time I saw him he was on great form," says one. "He was telling us how he shagged a tabloid reporter who doorknocked him." Dolly is, as ever, gallant. "I never kiss and tell," he says. "Ha, ha, ha. One word of advice. I wouldn't use her name. If I were you."

I N North London, playwright Brian Behan, brother of the minutely better known Brendan, appeals for help in his search for the male lead for his new work, *Time Out* reports that the play, entitled *A Tale Of Two Todgers*, which is due to open at the Hackney Empire in September, concerns a man with two quarrelling penises. "I am having difficulties casting," says Mr Behan, a former bricklayer.



Standing together on life's podium: Prozac, Viagra and other little helpers

Jonathan Freedland



JUNKIES are probably not too keen on international conferences, but there's one coming up that's set to be a cracker. Drug-users the world over — everyone from teenagers on Ecstasy to middle-aged men on Viagra along with the anxious millions on Prozac — should be clearing their diaries and booking their tickets for Laurence, where next January the International Olympic Committee will gather to debate the prickly business of drugs in sport.

The average pill-popper may reckon this has nothing to do with him, but he'd be wrong. The IOC's deliberations have a relevance that goes far beyond the cyclists, sprinters and swimmers at the centre of the usual rows about doping. In fact, the debate over performance-enhancing drugs touches on a confusion that affects all of us: revealing a major shift in our attitude not only to medicine but to the human body and soul.

That confusion has been on display all week. First, the Tour de France was knocked off balance by a dope scandal, as a stash of illegal substances was found in the hotel rooms of two of the leading teams. Then Olympic shot-put champion, Randy Barnes, failed a second drugs test, along with sprinter Dennis Mitchell, both of them facing possible bans from their sport.

But it was the head of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, who really set the debate in fire. The Andrei Gromyko of international sport — he's been on the Olympics governing body for 33 years — wondered whether his fellow athletics chiefs should lighten up in their attitude to drug-taking. Perhaps runners, lifters and hurdlers should be allowed to give themselves a little pharmaceutical help. Samaranch suggested. Rather like Tony Blair's recent lecture on nice and nasty public spending, the Olympics boss sought to distinguish acceptable drug-taking from the unacceptable variety — currently bundled together. "Doping now is everything that is bad," he said. "Of course, he was instantly condemned by the top brass of world sport, but has the IOC boss got a point? He certainly has realism on his side: sporting drug-taking is now so commonplace, it might well be time to accept it as an unavoidable fact of athletic life. But Samaranch also zeroes in on a confusion we all have about drugs and sport.

Science whizz Oliver Morton recently suggested splitting the Olympic Games into two: one for those getting bottled help, another for those who were drug-free. Fans could watch records tumble as pharmacologically-enhanced supermen and women competed in the Open Olympics, while nostalgists could enjoy the slower pace of the Olympics Classic.

The response to the idea was fascinating: people liked it, but they weren't sure why. For some, the problem was ethical: runners on drugs are cheats, even if they openly admit what they're taking. Others said the problem with pills is that they're not "natural", although they had no objection to goal-

keepers wearing contact lenses, even though those artificial aids are hardly found in nature. But the argument that really floors the traditionalists is the mention of drugs outside sport. Surely Viagra is a performance-enhancer, in the most literal sense of the term? If a man takes an artificial drug to boost his physical prowess, how different is he from Benson or the TWM team in the Tour de France?

And what about the hordes of men and women who rely on Prozac to lift them out of depression? Many of them tell movingly how the little tablet enables them to function more effectively than ever before — to run the race of life is that a performance-enhancer? It sounds like one.

THERE are differences, of course, but they are hardly compelling. One might say that consumers of Viagra and Prozac are not in competition, unlike the athletes gobbling up human growth hormone. And yet that is hardly clear. Indeed, plenty of doctors in the US suspect it's competition: which is driving the countless men who have beset their surgeries, desperate to become more enduring lovers thanks to a vial of Viagra.

Perhaps the difference is no wider than a GP's prescription. In other words, where there is a diagnosed medical problem, then drugs are all right. Except that, once again, the demand for Viagra has not been fuelled solely by men with clinical impotence. Plenty of the new Viagrans are men who can do it fine — they just want to do it harder and longer. For them drugs are no longer a cure: they are a lifestyle-enhancer.

Origin plays its part, too. All too often the plans are written too literally, and without incorporating the long-term objectives of the new administration. They also inevitably try to convince you that what you wanted to achieve was what they had been doing all the time!

The pride we place in our system of government to move seamlessly from one

ing a price-cutting campaign by one of the UK's most successful companies. Yet the same person circulated a private memo stating he totally disagreed with my political decision.

When I took this up with a top civil servant, I was advised that the answer was a bit of a maverick. The Civil Service prides itself on its ability to prepare for a change in government, and carefully prepares a plan for incoming ministers based on the manifesto.

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Viagra and Prozac are deemed legitimate because they were developed in well-funded labs by researchers in white coats. Ecstasy, by contrast, is off-limits because it appears illicitly, bubbling up from the streets. But that, too, hardly seems a satisfactory place to draw the line.

The key point here is that the gap between acceptable and unacceptable drugs is not as wide as we might hope. On the contrary, they have much in common. Both reveal the current tendency toward the medicalisation of human activity, both its accomplishments and its problems.

Sport was once an arena for human excellence: in the brave new world envisaged by Samaranch, it could become a contest not of athletic endeavour but of bio-medical genius. Instead of Mark Richardson versus Michael Johnson, it could be Wellcome versus Smith Kline Beecham.

Similarly, where sexual failure or mental turbulence was once a problem to be addressed psychologically — with a search for emotional explanations — now we reach for the quick fix of a pill. Women used to be silenced by Valium, now it is men plagued by Viagra.

In life, as in sport, we are looking for answers not in ourselves but at the chemist's.

This might not be as bleak as it sounds. For what unites both the athletes and the regular folks turning to drugs is a refusal to accept the limits on human capability. Both the discus-thrower and the would-be lover believe they can be better than their body tells them. They are reaching for the stars, even if they have to stand on a pillbox to get there — and that, at least, is an impulse to cherish.

Advocacy groups are full of

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Asylum lunacy

Isabel Hilton



IF YOU listened only to politicians you would imagine that Britain was awash with economic migrants making fraudulent claims for asylum, splurging out appeals procedures with the help of cynical advocates and creating a huge backlog of cases by a combination of weight of numbers and devious intent. Home Office minister Mike O'Brien has no trouble admitting that the Home Office's handling of applications for political asylum in the UK is a "shambles". He does, though, seem to have trouble thinking it through any further. Mr O'Brien claims there is no "culture of disbelief" in the Home Office when faced with asylum claims. It's an assertion that would be laughable if it did not cause so much misery. And if Mr O'Brien and Mr Straw do not first acknowledge that this very culture of disbelief is one of the main reasons for the Home Office shambles, their white paper on immigration and asylum will receive, at best, a poor reception.

There is much to applaud in the stated intent: to remove the scandalous backlog of 50,000 men, women and children whose lives are in limbo while they wait for the Home Office to deal with their applications, must be right, humane and economically sensible.

No doubt there are fraudulent claimants and unscrupulous advisers, but the main problem is the Home Office's inability to tell them apart. The NGOs that are struggling to cope with marooned refugees would be as happy as the Home Office to see fraudulent claimants swiftly despatched whence they came. But they also point out that the figures clearly demonstrate that when a serious problem occurs in Country X, it is followed by a rise in asylum applications from the nationals of that country. Is it impossible to imagine that people who are fleeing Iraq or Colombia or former Yugoslavia in times of conflict are often genuine, and to hope that that should be the basis of a fair and fast procedure?

MIKE O'BRIEN says there is no culture of disbelief. What, then, are we to make of cases such as the one quoted by Alasdair Mackenzie of Asylum Aid — that of a Bosnian Croat journalist who fled Sarajevo after receiving a series of death threats? The Home Office turned down his application for asylum on the grounds that the death threats had not been carried out.

Advocacy groups are full of

But the notion that any change is an affront to constitutional principle is the real threat to democracy. We cannot be deflected from ensuring the machinery of government serves it properly. That's why expert policy advisors with experience in business, academia and Non-Governmental Organisations are playing such a constructive role.

Jack Cunningham now has a pivotal role in bringing more cohesion to diverse departments and their working practices. This is a key position in which he is well-placed to deliver results.

Ministers must not be diverted by fighting the bureaucracy from taking forward policies which affect the lives of millions.

Until yesterday, Nigel Griffiths MP was minister for consumer affairs at the DTI

such stories. The Home Office, they say, is a byword for inefficiency and bad decision-making. Incredibly, there is still no computerised system to deal with applications, decisions are slow and papers are regularly lost. Now the Home Office says it plans to clear the backlog and reduce the processing time to six months from beginning to end. There is no word on how this is to be achieved without gravely prejudicing the rights of genuine refugees.

The Government's proposals as presented would only deal with half the backlog of initial decisions. It would still leave 20,000 initial cases outstanding and an appeals backlog of 21,000, which does not inspire confidence that the new system will be able to free itself of this tottering mountain of paper. Nor is there any sign that the appalling problem at the heart of the system — the poor quality of first decisions — is being seriously addressed. Bad initial decisions lead directly to a heavy load of appeals. The Refugee Legal Centre, which provides legal representation for appeals, has a success rate of some 30 per cent.

The genuine asylum seeker is the loser in this: if a false claimant knows that an appeal can take years then he or she has a good chance of prolonging an unjustified stay with little risk of deportation. The genuine asylum seeker, on the other hand, faces months if not years of penury and uncertainty, possibly compounded by arbitrary detention, at a time when he or she is already traumatised by persecution at home.

Simply speeding up the process and reducing the appeal options to one only solves the problem if the quality of the work at the Home Office is also dramatically improved. To achieve that, there first has to be an acknowledgment

The Home Office is a secretive and appallingly managed bunker

of the problem. It is not good enough to say that no culture of disbelief exists. There are too many ludicrous and scandalous cases for that to be credible. The Home Office is a secretive, bureaucratic and appallingly managed bunker. There is an ineffective chain of command and little accountability for decisions made at the bottom. Bad decisions made by low level officials set in train a whole series of consequences — expense, delay and injustice, for which the institution's answer is to blame the asylum seekers and their advocates. It is the fixed belief of most NGOs in the field that the Home Office sees its primary purpose as keeping people out of it appears to be the Home Office's belief that the NGOs are dedicated to letting all claimants in.

The first step, Mr O'Brien, is to stop blaming the applicants and listen to the critics

For me, the clash came early. I was instructed to give a 'somewhat dry and lifeless response' to an important press enquiry

Goodbye DTI

Nigel Griffiths

MY personal disappointment at leaving the Department of Trade and Industry is tempered by the knowledge that, in 14 months, consumers have been put at the heart of government and my successor, Kim Howells, a man of great ability, will ensure that even more progress is made in the future.

On May 1 last year the Labour Party was elected with a packed programme and a strong vision at the cutting edge of strategic thinking and presentation. It was bound to clash with a demoralised and understaffed Civil Service.

After 18 years of Conservative government, too many old methods and working systems were entrenched: some Whitehall press offices were fossilised. Draft press notices

often omitted key facts, and ministers were having to vet news releases to ensure that important details were included — details which had nothing to do with politics.

For me the clash came early. I was instructed to give a "somewhat dry and lifeless response" to an important press enquiry. From day one ministers were told by civil servants not to deal with problems affecting other departments, but there was no attempt to ensure that the other departments returned journalists' calls. So a network of new Labour ministers tipping each other off soon developed. But this was a poor substitute for government press offices ensuring that a full response was given to press enquiries.

Barriers are put in the way of ministers consulting colleagues on policy issues.

erated my approach, and the subsequent firework-safety campaign led to the biggest fall in injuries for 23 years.

On another occasion I was advised by a departmental lawyer that there were no legal barriers to my endorsing

In June 1997, I wanted to share the department's thinking with one of the MPs who has developed an expertise in firework safety. After being told that under no circumstances can a minister show a colleague a DTI briefing paper, I asked them to get me a legal opinion. It ex-

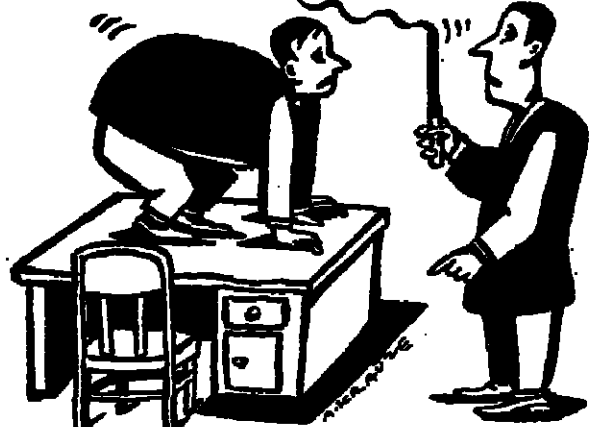
ing a price-cutting campaign by one of the UK's most successful companies. Yet the same person circulated a private memo stating he totally disagreed with my political decision.

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Darling buds that may

He needs strategic vision

ACTION Man has taken over at the Department of Social Security. Alistair Darling, newly installed as Secretary of State, was unequivocal on his first day: the time for talking about welfare reform was coming to an end. The test for any government was what it actually delivered. It was time to move the welfare debate "from a series of ideas into a firm plan that we can implement and work". People needed to see a real difference. Labour would be "one of the most radical governments there has been this century".

All of which might sound extremely admirable but if welfare reform was as simple as many newcomers assume, it would have been done years ago. The first warning which all new ministers should receive is beware of raising undue expectations. Welfare reform is a political quagmire which has sunk many an aspiring politician. Harriet Harman and Frank Field are only the two latest victims. Even Tony Blair found himself floundering after plunging into this policy area last year before he was properly briefed.

The new minister is unfamiliar with the subject. His first decision is what should be done about Frank Field's strategy paper published in March. Consultation concludes this week. At the top of his in-tray will be the 800-word letter, which we print in our Society section today, from 150 social policy specialists who believe Field's policy paper failed to tackle crucial issues such as the

adequacy of benefits, the future of social insurance, or the needs of unpaid carers who look after people at home but are outside the national insurance system.

Clearly there will be a temptation to dismiss Field's struggle with fundamental principles and just get on with enacting the remaining practical social security changes — pensions, disability benefits, housing benefits and reform of the child support agency. But that would be a dangerous course. The minister needs to have a strategic vision. One of the problems of the last year has been individual policy initiatives — the New Deal, child benefit restructuring, and minimum pensions guarantee — which have been taken even before ministers have agreed a fundamental approach.

Do ministers want to move towards a residual American-style welfare system which caters purely for the poor? Or do they want to maintain a continental model, in which social security has wider purposes involving security and solidarity? Initially, the Prime Minister favoured the first model speaking of the need to shift some responsibility from public to private shoulders, the desirability of moving from a universal to a safety net scheme, and the importance of cutting social security costs so that funds could be transferred to health and education. But in his forward to Field's green paper, Tony Blair specifically rejected the idea of a low-grade safety net in favour of an ill-defined third way.

Ministers are in a muddle. They have been from the start. They were right to want to reform welfare but silly to believe this would save money. Moving people from welfare to work is expensive — in terms of training and subsidies — as the New Deal is demonstrating. Dependency did have to be reduced but a majority will never be found work. They need a decent standard of living

too. Our current benefit levels are still linked through Beveridge back to Rowntree's report of the 1930s. Successive research studies have shown benefit levels to be totally inadequate. We need a minimum income standard. And we need a social insurance scheme that will draw in many more people. Darling should shut himself away, learn the subject, and develop a strategic vision before he cuts through the ministerial muddle.

Asean's crises

Democracy rides a thorny path

AN ECONOMIC crisis concentrates Asian minds powerfully on issues that are usually brushed aside. Yesterday in Manila, the nine-member Asean grouping joined with its Western partners to set up a forum on the social costs of economic failure. Thailand, which proposed the new body, said: "Social unrest is now the most real threat to security in Asia." Such language would have been inconceivable a year ago.

The Thai foreign minister had already led the way when the Asean meeting gathered last Friday, urging his colleagues to speak more frankly about democracy, deprivation and the environment. He was backed by his host, the Philippines foreign secretary said a stronger Asean had to speak out on "thorny issues". Other Asean countries — particularly Singapore which takes over the chairmanship — are more reluctant. Malaysia continues to insist on the "time-honoured principle" of non-interference. The result was a cautious agreement to allow "enhanced interaction" to discuss issues within member states which had external implications. In reality, unrest anywhere in the region can quickly impact elsewhere, as

the news from Rangoon and Phnom Penh underlined yesterday.

In Cambodia, international pressure up till now for free and fair elections has been directed towards the ruling regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen — fairly enough in view of his dubious record. The latest development, in which the royalist FUNCINPEC is crying foul, presents a more complex situation. The UN observers may have been too keen before the elections to give Hun Sen a clean bill of health, but the actual elections do appear to have passed relatively smoothly. Unless hard evidence of fraud can be produced, the result must stand. The Cambodian opposition should be reminded of the disasters that have occurred elsewhere when one party rejected a popular vote. Boycotting the assembly would only give Hun Sen the pretext to establish what really would amount to one-party rule.

Asean has said it is watching the political process in Cambodia very carefully but it still dodges the bigger problem of Burma (Myanmar), which it admitted to membership last year. Only the non-Asean nations of Japan and South Korea joined yesterday's call for the junta to stop blockading Aung San Suu Kyi — now immobilised for the fifth day in her car. Already a heroic fighter for the social justice which Asean is beginning to acknowledge, she deserves much better from her fellow-Asians.

Dear David

The aim is courtesy without peer

DAVID STODDART has a point. Correction: Lord Stoddart of Swindon has a point. It can indeed be deeply irritating, especially when one is 72 and in pain, to be addressed as "David" by a hospital nurse one has only

just met. In one's pyjamas at that, which adds to a sense of social disadvantage. But is the doughty Labour peer and Euro-sceptic right in a larger sense? Are the once-reserved British becoming too susceptible to the false intimacy which characterises American social manners?

"Hi, Dave, would you like to share that bedpan with me, Dave? Thanks, Dave, have a nice day", as Lord Stoddart would be greeted on the ward in California. The issue has echoes of the Diana Debate about our collective emotional health and the correct answer is, inevitably, both Yes and No.

We are better for being less stuffy than we were, being more open to our feelings, more willing to express them. Even the growth of tactile habits (is it correct to exchange kisses on two cheeks now, or on four if you are really friends, as in rural France?) has its place, especially within families. But the cult of familiarity is less attractive. If we call Lord Stoddart "David" on first acquaintance, what do we call him when we get to know him better?

The guiding principle of such social niceties should surely be making people feel at ease. In other words, courtesy, an understated virtue between both friends and strangers as travellers on public transport can attest. Rare indeed is the youngster who automatically gives up a seat for a wrinkle.

Since this is cabinet reshuffle week, a plug is in order for courtesy in politics. A generation ago Lord Home, a 14th earl who was briefly prime minister, was a model of old-fashioned manners for us all, bless him. Today the mantle falls on the 14th Mr Straw. Part of the Home Secretary's welcome success as a minister lies in his unfailing courtesy to colleagues. As Peter Mandelson once wisely remarked: "Government breaks down when courtesy stops." They should paint it over the cabinet room door.

Letters to the Editor

The bishops and Beagle 2

THE claim that US fundamentalist funding is buying the voices of African bishops is not as outrageous as Andrew Maclean thinks (Letters, July 28). I have little experience of Africa but know that US fundamentalists and their British counterparts are pouring huge sums of money into India to buy sections of the Indian churches.

A year ago, a church of North India priest threatened to kill me when he discovered that I had found out how his publishing organisation was misusing funds from British Evangelical churches. The Lambeth bishops from Africa and Asia may not be as innocently "biblical" as they would have us believe. David L. Gosling, Cambridge.

AIRCRAFT personnel are ultra-sensitive to people smoking in the aircraft toilets (Pilot fumes over smoking in leo row, July 28) for the very good reason that the fluid used to flush the toilets is inflammable. Possibly if this information was made explicit, smokers desperate for a fix might think twice before lighting up. Andy Smith, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

TIM Radford tells us that "scientists on Earth will use the Beagle 2 space probe to detect the faintest trace of life on a planet" (Scientists seek whiff of life on Mars, July 27). I feel it my duty to warn these scientists that many of the kebab-inspired chuffs from my student days on the Red Planet, I would hate to be responsible for an erroneous scientific statement that "we are not alone". David J. Lynch, Belfast.

Net result is impressive

IT WAS disappointing to read your non-story about the Internet (Tangled Web, July 28) as a "beheading mass of fraud and disinformation".

After years of Online hyping the Internet as a middle-class lifestyle accessory — useful for work, educational for the kids, recreational for grown-ups — the Guardian seems to be waking up to what the rest of us have known since the advent of the World Wide Web. That is that the Internet is a chaotic mass of potentially useful information, and it requires a bit more nous than knowing how to click a "search" button to find what you need.

There have been no stories about magazines, newspapers or television as a category being unreliable and error-prone (which they are), because most people have developed the skills to distinguish (for example) between tabloid reporting and broadcast reporting, and adjust their expectations accordingly. The Internet is something akin to all traditional media taking place at the same time in the same place, but this does not preclude the possibility of being able to separate reliable sources from unreliable ones. Unless, of course, you've

bought into the Internet as a lifestyle accessory and feel that your £15 payment to an ISP each month frees you from the necessity of making such judgments.

Perhaps, however, the current rash of obvious spoofs, fakes and hoaxes doing the rounds on the Web will encourage people to be a bit more critical and suspicious of whatever they read. Danny Birchall, Editor, University of Sussex Information Service.

IT'S almost inevitable that an article complaining bitterly about the inaccuracy of a new medium should end up incorporating a few serious howlers; I wasn't too surprised to spot a few in Jonathan Miller's piece. Chiefly, had he read further than the title, he would have learned that the "baby train" story to which he refers in fact revolves around an early-morning train which wakes residents of a housing development early in the morning — often resulting in the patter of tiny feet nine months down the line. Nothing to do with sinister child abductions. It strikes me as more than a little disingenuous to blame the messenger. One only has

to look at the utter rot that was foisted on the reading public by the then-new technology of chapbooks in the 18th and 19th centuries. Think of the Web and Usenet as vanity publishing without the books and a great deal falls into place. Joe McNally, London.

HALF of the fun of the Internet is travelling through the countless bizarre theories, of varying degrees of reliability. It represents a medium for people to convey their views to a mass audience. With most of the world's broadcast and print media in the hands of an ever-shrinking number of hands, this is a priceless resource. Has it occurred to Jonathan Miller that what he regards as false may be a true story that the mass media prefers to ignore? Andy Smart, Fairfield, Glos.

AN ARTICLE explaining why anyone should believe anything they see on the net is badly needed. It is interesting. Chris Holden, Preston, Lancs.

The pluses and minuses of Blair's cabinet reshuffle

FRANK Field has shown me the Third Way of New Labour: resignation. His proposal for welfare reform was both original and radical. But when social fairness is compared to Treasury cost-cutting, the latter wins; hence Frank's exit.

The problem still remains of a welfare provision that seems to encourage state interference or of a prohibitively expensive private provision, to the detriment of those in need. Ian Boote, Hyde, Cheshire.

THE new Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Stephen Byers, let it slip at the 1996 party conference that the Labour/union link should go, and, with Peter Mandelson heading up the Department of Trade and Industry, the CBI have also got a self-confessed Labour/union link-buster. We owe it to our members not to allow ourselves to be squeezed out, but to use our

dwindling influence to turn the screw over issues like public-sector pay. Geoff Martin, UNISON London Convenor.

I HOPE Frank Field is available for work and not content to be laying about on the backbenches at the taxpayers' expense. Perhaps retraining? Trevor Hopper, Brighton.

STEPHEN Byers is an excellent role model for primary school children who have failed their Key Stage 1 maths. Will the calculator ban apply to Byers in his work on the national finances? Rodney Hedley, London.

IS IT preferable to have Stephen Byers, who has difficulty with his nine-times table, at the Treasury or the Ministry of Education? V G Jones, Biddenham, Bedford.



Tuning into the other Radio 3

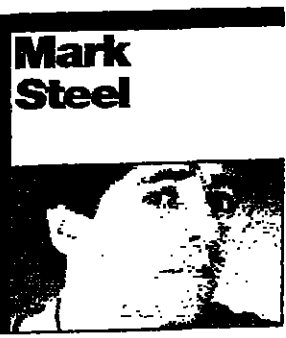
PARALLEL universes do exist, at least as far as Radio 3 is concerned. Everytime people like your writer (The Third Way, July 24) sound off about "new music" they always refer to a Radio 3 I never get when I tune in. Radio 3 has the monopoly on broadcasting new music and it has this obsession with atonal composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen. My recollection is that one piece of Stockhausen, and maybe three by Boulez have been broadcast this year.

This week Radio 3 is playing pieces by only six living composers and only one of these uses atonal techniques with any regularity. Given that Radio 3 is on air 24 hours, this hardly amounts to an "obsession". Your writer continued: "New composers who write melody have gone into film." Where do you think the person on the Clapham omnibus is most likely to hear "new music" if not at the movies and during the adverts? Paul Edwards, London.

Bestial affairs

YOUR article (Britain's plan to kill Hitler revealed, July 29) on "low methods" employed by British secret agents to shorten the second world war reminded me of the domestic "newspaper" my father wrote in occupied Holland. One article poked fun both at the German's reputation for thoroughness: "The following decree has been issued by the Commissioner for Bestial Affairs: (1) The undisciplined and unsanitary squandering of cow dung in fields is uneconomic and will cease as from tonight. (2) Cow dung will be deposited in special receptacles to be installed in fields containing cows and the contents of these receptacles. (3) Owners are notified they have to instruct their cows in the use of these receptacles. Tim Ottewanger, Leicestershire.

Class ceiling



THIS is modern, Third-Way cappuccino Britain, and it's many years since a person was defined by their class. The Eighties finished that, when surveys proved we were nearly all middle-class because 73 per cent of people asked had eaten a kiwi fruit and 88 per cent pronounced "taramasalata". You were middle-class if you had ever watched BBC2 when it wasn't showing snooker.

and were only working-class if you could shout, "Oy Tyson, get over here" at your pit bull. But the realities of class may be the reason why so many people are still discussing the documentary, 42 Up, a week after it was shown. Every seven years, the programme-makers have revisited the group of children they first filmed in 1964.

Some commentators have concluded that the programmes show how, compared to the Britain of the first two programmes, today's Britain is a land of social mobility. After all, you can't have a class-divided society unless it's in black and white. And look at Tony, the lovable East End urchin with impeccable working-class credentials, who's grown up to be an Essex cabbie with his own house and aspirations to get the patio relaid; a classic example of changing Britain. But as soon as Tony arrives home in his cab, his wife

takes it back out for the night shift so they can keep up the mortgage payments.

Ex-Oxbridge solicitor Andrew, with a house several times larger, didn't seem to have the same problem. There was no indication that when he arrives home his wife says, "Hello love, give me your wig and I'll hang about by the Old Bailey and try to pick up a few late night trials." Nor are there many financial worries for public school Suzy who lives in a house that looks like a castle with a tennis court, and is married to a businessman, with an unfeasibly posh voice, called Rupert. He was never likely to end up on a building site, was he? You don't often hear: "Oy, give us an 'and with this bag of cement will you, Rupert?" With the reply: "One can jolly well leave it out, Terry, one's finishing one's tea." Rupert dismissed the trauma involved in his career change, from lawyer to owning his own company.

Lynne had also experienced a career change. She'd been working in a mobile library, loving the encouragement that her efforts gave to local kids. But the council cut the funding and it was shut down. There wasn't much weighting up to be done about her career change, as there was for Rupert. Probably the rich don't understand this, and think that when a plant shuts down it's because the entire workforce has decided "I'm 41, time to take the plunge and opt for a different career". Lynne had been ill, as is Jackie who heroically fights arthritis to raise three kids on an estate near Motherwell. But the sure bet for social climber had to be Nick, who as a seven-year-old was already showing signs of scientific genius. He's published books that appear as a series of indecipherable squiggles which are apparently equations that unlock the mysteries of nuclear fusion. But he

lives in America, like many other frustrated scientists who left in the Thatcher years. And he has considerably less wealth or security than Rupert, who probably understands just one equation: X + Y = Z (where X = public school, Y = daddy's contacts and Z a tennis court).

NOT every subject of the documentary, however, had stayed within his or her class of birth. Bruce, apparently set at prep school for Rupertesque achievements, instead became a teacher in a state school where his greatest pride is his brilliant child sitting in a corner and saying: "We've got great hopes for you, if you carry on producing this excellent standard of work, there's no reason why you shouldn't get your GCSEs, A-levels, go to university and get a degree. Then, with a bit of luck you might end up driving a van."

compassion, wit, tenacity and variety of skills of the subjects born into working-class backgrounds, none of them escaped the lot they were born with. Instead their talents were regularly stifled by lack of control, lack of confidence, spending cuts and illness.

Which isn't to say that the Britain of today hasn't changed at all over the last 30 years. I can certainly remember how I was caught playing truant from school and was sat in a corner by irate teachers who said: "You might think you're clever now, but do you know where you'll end up if you carry on like this — driving a van!" Now the teachers will spot a bright child sitting in a corner and say: "We've got great hopes for you, if you carry on producing this excellent standard of work, there's no reason why you shouldn't get your GCSEs, A-levels, go to university and get a degree. Then, with a bit of luck you might end up driving a van."

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Analysis New Labour's females

Women on top

Diane Abbott dubs it a Boys' Own project. Women now do the fixing but not the spending. But others see Blair's new ministerial appointments as the first serious breach in the male bastion of government. **Lucy Ward** reports

THE feminisation of politics was one female Labour MP's analysis of Tony Blair's first reshuffle. After two days of to-ing and fro-ing by the chosen ones up and down Downing Street, women are revealed to have swept the board in all the organisational jobs the Government has to offer. Anne Taylor batters down the door of a previously all-male bastion as Chief Whip (with, for the first time, a seat at the Cabinet table), while Margaret Beckett takes over her former role organising government business as Leader of the House. Just up the Westminster corridor, Lady Jay marks another first for women, as Leader of the Lords. Organisation, of course, is distinct from enforcement — that still gets left to tough guy Jack Cunningham.

The changes put women at the heart of government, at least according to the Downing Street spin machine, which has sought to paint a picture of a clutch of powerful females keeping the boys under control. Women's groups, however, are hardly turning cartwheels at the shake-up.

With the sacking of the Secretary for Social Security Harriet Harman — praised by one sympathetic observer yesterday as "the Government's only campaigning feminist" — and the shifting of Mrs Beckett from Trade and Industry, the only women running spending departments are Marjorie Mowlem at Northern Ireland and Clare Short, in charge of a comparatively tiny purse at Overseas Development.

"At the top level, the girls have ended up with the nannying and housekeeping jobs, while the men get the real work," said one disgruntled female backbencher.

Diane Abbott, a leftwing member of Labour's National Executive Committee, summed up the new look Government top team yesterday as a "Boys' Own project", where none of the great offices of state were under women's command. The jockeying for position between the camps

loyal to Gordon Brown and Mr Blair was "like nothing so much as just William and competing gangs", she said.

Even Ms Abbott, apparently so sick of male domination she could throw a punch, would have to agree that the prospects for women of reaching the upper echelons of government have improved dramatically in the last decade. Margaret Thatcher appointed only one woman — Lady Young — to her Cabinet in ten years, and she stayed for only 18 months. John Major, taking office in 1990, had filled all his Cabinet seats before realising he had carelessly forgotten to include any women. Gillian Shephard was whisked in as Economic Secretary to the Treasury.

Labour wised up to the importance of women-friendliness when in-house research conducted after its 1987 election defeat revealed that voters, especially women, found masculine party images old-fashioned and unattractive, and thought Labour was more male-dominated than other parties. In the same year, a Fabian pamphlet co-written by Patricia Hewitt — the one new-intake woman promoted in the reshuffle — argued that voters were more likely to trust a woman politician than a man. More research showed

that, without women's tendency to vote Conservative, there would have been no Tory governments between 1945 and 1979, led to Labour's concerted attempt after 1982 to feminise the party's image and attract women voters.

With plans for the next election under way, the incoming Labour general secretary Margaret McDonagh, will keep the same goals in mind as she examines new ways to attract party members. Meanwhile, women's groups doubtfully eyeing New Labour's post-general election record on women's issues, make the point that selling the Government's message to women voters is a separate issue from making sure that its policies are genuinely "female friendly" or that women are represented in top-level political posts.

Even the "fixing" appointments trumpeted by Downing Street are no use if the incumbents are not ready to fight for women's interests, say campaigners, who suspect neither the sometimes aloof Mrs Beckett nor the straight-talking, football-loving Mrs Taylor are "one of us". "Frankly, I don't think either of them give a toss about women," says one observer. More generous commentators concede that neither has opposed feminist moves, including

expansion of childcare, urged by Ms Harman in Cabinet. Women's groups including the Fawcett Society are ready to throw their weight behind the new ministers for women, Lady Jay and Tessa Jowell, whose track records on women's health issues in particular are well regarded. "Margaret Jay has the right instincts, the right weight for the job, and the position in the establishment which, whether we like it or not, is quite useful for women. And she's no flaky post-feminist who believes marriage is supreme and divorce is wrong," says one well-placed observer.

The appointment of Ms Jowell to handle women's issues also wins plaudits, particularly since it does away with the absurdity of the unpaid women's minister post held until this week by Joan Ruddock. But women's campaigners are seeking that, though there is still a women's minister in the cabinet, the post is tacked on to another major portfolio. There is also concern at the fate of the Women's Unit — the clutch of civil servants so far based at the Department of Social Security which is supposed to promote and help to steer through female-friendly policies across departments. Alison Ryan, director of the Fawcett Society, says: "Our view is that the Women's Unit must not be looked at as some kind of Fortknash in Whitehall which can be shunted around and attached to any convenient department." It appeared last night that the unit would move to the Cabinet Office — seen as a more logical position

from which to influence cross-departmental policy. If day one of the reshuffle left women's campaigners ambivalent over the changes, day two offered more encouragement. While Ms Ruddock joins her former boss outside the Government, the party old hand Margaret Hodge moves from a successful run chairing the Commons education select committee to a role as junior education minister, and Kate Hoey is promoted to the Home Office.

Successful women already in government have won moves or promotion, including Angela Eagle, Estelle Morris, Janet Anderson and Joyce Quin.

One woman MP from the 1997 intake commented: "These middle ranking appointments are more telling in many ways than the top-level jobs. Eventually more women will gain experience and begin to feed through. You can't judge all women on the basis of those few that make it to the top first."

If women still have doubts that, slowly but surely, they are moving up, they might note the comments of a handful of male backbenchers, who were muttering yesterday of too many token female promotions made regardless of merit. The Boys' Own project already feels itself under threat.

Graphic sources: Vacher's Parliamentary Companion; Prime Minister's office online, <http://www.number-10.gov.uk>; Graphics: Michael Agar. Research: Matt Keating. Lucy Ward is the Guardian Political Correspondent.

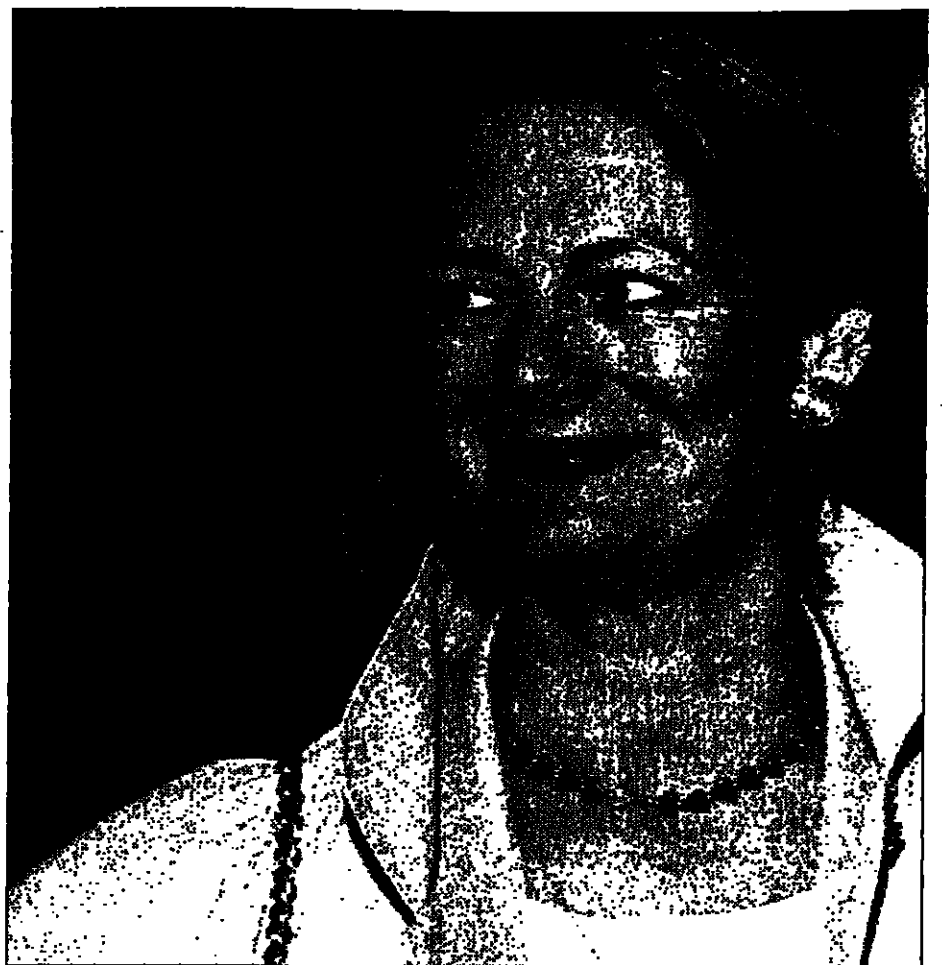
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Samaranch votes for the dopes
8

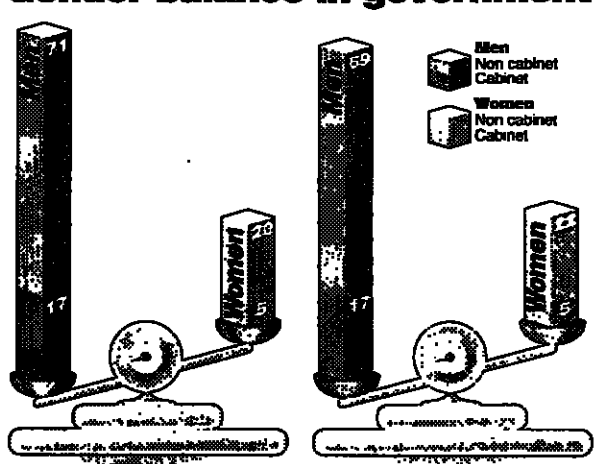


Clockwise from right: Patricia Hewitt promoted from backbenches to junior post at Treasury, working for Gordon Brown; pensions mis-selling, financial services bill and the City. Baroness Jay promoted to cabinet; main tasks, Leader of the Lords, women's minister. Helen Liddell promoted from Treasury to Scottish Office deputy, and campaign co-ordinator, likely to succeed Donald Dewar as Scottish Secretary.

Margaret McDonagh made Labour Party general secretary. Estelle Morris promoted at Education to Minister of State. Joyce Quin promoted from prisons minister to Minister for Europe at the Foreign Office. Kate Hoey promoted from backbenches to junior home office post. Margaret Hodge promoted from the backbenches to junior education minister.



Gender balance in government



- Cabinet**
Margaret Beckett: DTI
Harriet Harman: Social Security
Mo Mowlem: Northern Ireland
Clare Short: International Development
Ann Taylor: Leader of the House
- Others**
Janet Anderson: Whip
Helen Liddell: Minister for Local Government and Housing
Baroness Blackstone: Minister for Education and Employment
Baroness Ramsay: Whip
Angela Eagle: Junior minister, Education
DETFE
Baroness Hodge: Junior minister, Social Security
Baroness Hollis: Junior minister, Social Security
Glenis Jackson: Junior minister, DETFE
Tessa Jowell: Minister for Public Health
Kate Kennedy: Assistant whip
Helen Liddell: Economic Secretary, Treasury
Estelle Morris: Junior minister, Education
Baroness Jay: Minister for Health
Bridget Prentice: Assistant whip
Down Primary: Financial Secretary, Treasury
Joyce Quin: Minister for Prisons, Probation and Europe
Baroness Fawcett: Whip
Barbara Roche: Junior minister, Foreign Office
Joan Ruddock: Junior minister (Women, unpaid)
- Direct new appointments**
Margaret Hodge: Junior minister, Education
Kate Hoey: Junior minister, Home Office
Baroness Hollis: Junior minister, Social Security
Glenis Jackson: Junior minister, DETFE
Tessa Jowell: Minister for Public Health (and women)
Kate Kennedy: Assistant whip
Helen Liddell: Minister of State, Scottish Office
Estelle Morris: Minister for School Standards
Bridget Prentice: Assistant whip
Down Primary: Financial Secretary, Treasury
Joyce Quin: Minister for Europe
Baroness Fawcett: Whip
Barbara Roche: Junior minister, DTI
Baroness Symonds: Junior minister, Foreign Office

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VW caught out as rival pays only £40m for exclusive rights



Rolls-Royce plc chairman Sir Ralph Robins (left), with BMW's Bernd Pischetsrieder and VW boss Ferdinand Piech

PHOTOGRAPH: LOUISA BULLER

BMW snatches Rolls-Royce

David Gow
Industrial Editor

BMW yesterday pulled off a stunning coup over its German rival, Volkswagen, by snapping up the exclusive rights to produce the world's most prestigious motoring brand — the Rolls-Royce — for a mere £40 million.

In an extraordinary twist to a nine-month battle between the two German groups for a brand-name synonymous with luxury, VW conceded that it had ended up paying £479 million for the less-renowned Bentley marque.

Yesterday's deal, signed at 7am on a deserted Bavarian golf course, came just three weeks after VW completed its purchase of Rolls-Royce Motors, makers of both brands, from Vickers. At the time it

had trumped a £340 million offer from Munich's BMW.

However, at a news conference in London yesterday, the new deal, which splits the Rolls-Royce car producer in two, was unveiled. Until January 2003 VW will build the Bentley and Rolls-Royce ranges at Crewe, with engines and components supplied by BMW.

After that, VW will build just Bentleys, with plans to expand output to 10,000 cars a year, including around 7,500 new mid-sized cars to rival top-of-the-range BMWs and Mercedes. Crewe will be home to Bentley Motor Cars.

BMW's chairman, Bernd Pischetsrieder, has undertaken to produce new Rolls-Royce models at a new plant in England.

Both German chairmen pledged that the two marques would retain their best, and British, characteristics, in-



cluding the Rolls Flying lady emblem, the Spirit of Ecstasy. A sheepish Ferdinand Piech, VW chairman, was effectively forced to admit that BMW had outmanoeuvred him by initially cancelling contracts to provide engines and compo-

nents for Crewe, including the Rolls Silver Seraph and Bentley Arnage. Doubts about Rolls' future has led to a 30 per cent drop in orders over the past six weeks, and Mr Piech conceded the situation could have become catastrophic.

The ultra-ambitious Mr Piech, who wants VW to rival the US and Japanese car producers, also found he faced a protracted and costly legal battle to acquire the rights to the Rolls-Royce brand-name — owned by the separate aero-engine manufacturer of the same name.

With BMW leaning on Rolls-Royce plc to extract an exorbitant price for the brand, VW never made a bid to acquire the rights. Though Mr Piech admitted he would have paid far less if he had discussed the issue of the brand name with outmanoeuvred him by initially cancelling contracts to provide engines and compo-

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Notebook

Marques made on golf course



Mark Milner

THE circumstances surrounding the signing of the deal to carve up Rolls-Royce into its constituent marques appear as bizarre as the contents. The peace treaty settling the long-running battle between BMW and Volkswagen over the luxury car maker apparently was signed on a near-deserted golf course well before most of us were considering breakfast.

To add a dash of intrigue, BMW's Bernd Pischetsrieder and VW's Ferdinand Piech were accompanied by Gerhard Schröder and Edmund Stoiber, the minister president of Lower Saxony and Bavaria. Their presence is bound to raise speculation of a political fix. While Mr Schröder could at least plead that his state is VW's biggest shareholder, Mr Stoiber had no such excuse. Perhaps he just likes to gloat.

Certainly a touch of Schadenfreude would be justified. There is no doubt that it is Bavaria's BMW which has come out on top. BMW will get the rights to the Rolls-Royce name (in exchange for a £40 million payment to aero-engine maker Rolls-Royce) while VW, for all its big talk and bigger spending, gets the less well known Bentley brand, and the Crewe car plant.

Mr Piech protests that in Bentley he has got what he wanted anyway. That looks thin. If Bentley was the real prize then he could have got away with paying less by doing a deal with BMW earlier. Methinks he doth protest too much.

Although Mr Pischetsrieder is clearly the winner in the battle for Rolls-Royce, he would be unwise to break out the champagne yet. Just as he and Mr Piech were making up, BMW's arch-rival, Daimler-Benz, announced — with a sense of timing that can hardly have been coincidental — that it too is entering the top-of-the-range wars, with the £106,000 Maybach.

German interest in the luxury end of the market is beginning to look overdue.

relative high interest rates. Just how much each adds to sterling's value is a moot point but clearly at least some of the support points are weakening. Economic growth is no longer looking robust.

On the contrary, manufacturing is on the floor, the service sector is slowing. Indeed, the economic outlook is such that any further rise in interest rates is likely to undermine the pound, rather than bolster it. Not much point in buying sterling on yield grounds if interest rate levels are driving the economy into the ground. With sterling at its current level, recession has to be a sell signal.

So where does the monetary policy committee go from here? It might actually be worth while considering lower rates or at least calling the top of the cycle. After all, if higher rates do put the skids under the pound then the anti-inflationary impact the tightening the monetary screws was designed to achieve, would be lost.

Cutting rates and thus easing some of the pressures within the economy might help to keep the pound steady or any decline that much shallower and more manageable. The snag is, of course, that lower rates might not send the right message on the earnings front.

Brown's plea

THE Chancellor, Gordon Brown, yesterday sought to breathe new life into his initiative to reduce the burden of debt for the world's poorest countries. In a speech to the Lambeth conference, he was both fervent and eloquent.

He quoted Martin Luther King's stricture that we are all part of one moral universe and John F Kennedy's reminder that if a free society cannot help the many who are poor it cannot save the few who are rich. Debt relief, he said on his own account, was "a matter not just of dispensing charity, but ensuring justice prevails".

Of course Mr Brown chose to speak on a theme suited to the conference he was addressing. Yet for all that, it is hard to avoid the feeling that he was having, in effect, to restate a message he has already delivered.

It is not that the message does not bear repetition. The worry is the sense that Mr Brown is concerned that his words are not getting through to the movers and shakers in the world's wealthiest countries.

Politicians, of course, are familiar enough with dialogues with the deaf. But can the rich world really be deaf (and blind) to the problems of a region, to quote Mr Brown: "in which 200 million can barely move their heads because of hunger, [a] part of the world where 30,000 children die every day from preventable diseases and where 1.3 billion, two thirds of them women, are in poverty?"

Mr Brown will be putting that question to the International Monetary Fund meeting in October. On past form, don't hold your breath.

The message

THE pound's three pence fall yesterday in response to the latest, depressing business confidence survey from the Confederation of British Industry illustrates the problem facing policy makers.

To the agony of manufacturing exporters in particular, sterling has been held high for getting on for two years now by three factors: safe haven status as most of the rest of the European Union currencies head for monetary union, the performance of the economy, and

Railtrack faces tough price controls to prevent 'rip-off'

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

RAILTRACK was given a strong warning yesterday to expect much tougher price controls after 2001 to make sure "the public is not being ripped off".

The warning came from rail regulator John Swift who said prices he sets for the five-year period after 2001 "will remove any excess profit" not genuinely attributable to improved efficiencies.

His office said that if it came to the conclusion that Railtrack had under-delivered, Mr Swift might look at a retrospective clawback.

Mr Swift's comments had no impact on Railtrack's shares, which fell by 7p on Monday in expectation of his announcement. Yesterday they put on 130p to 154.5p. Analysts said the regulator's

tougher regime was three years away, giving investors plenty of time to benefit. In a consultation document, Mr Swift tells Railtrack that he is seeking to establish "the minimum sums necessary to finance the functions of an efficient operator".

The wording suggests that he will reject Railtrack's plan for a lenient review to allow it to fund other projects, such as the Channel tunnel rail link and the London Underground. Mr Swift said he would use its flotation value as the basis for the company's "official value". Railtrack has seen its market capitalisation go from £1.8 billion at privatisation in 1996 to £7.1 billion. The lower the official value, the lower the return Railtrack may make.

Railtrack's finance director, Norman Broadhurst, said he was surprised by the decision.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS			
Australia 2.87	Germany 2.97	Malaysia 8.85	Singapore 2.79
Austria 20.14	Greece 47.85	Netherlands 3.2255	South Africa 10.14
Belgium 22.22	Hong Kong 12.47	New Zealand 3.14	Spain 242.50
Canada 2.42	India 70.425	Norway 12.16	Sweden 2.79
Cyprus 0.84	Ireland 1.1315	Portugal 281.32	Switzerland 2.41
Denmark 11.00	Israel 0.088	Saudi Arabia 6.11	Turkey 431.000
Finland 8.81	Italy 2.844	US dollar 1.6114	
France 5.987			

Status cars that compete with yachts

The market

Nicholas Bannister

VOLKSWAGEN is planning to tear up the luxury car market rule book with its plan to build 10,000 Bentleys a year.

Conventional motor industry wisdom says that exclusivity is one of the main driving forces behind the sale of super-luxury cars.

Rolls-Royce and Bentley cars have a certain cachet because there are so few of them. Fewer than 2,000 were sold last year. If you flood the market with Bentleys, so the argument goes, you will diminish their status value. And status is what the luxury car market is all about.

Fifteen years ago City

whizz-kids were rewarded with then relatively rare and expensive BMWs. Now BMWs are two a penny and the City wunderkind wants something more exotic.

However, the UK luxury car market, taking in such cars as the BMW 7 series, the Mercedes "S" class and Jaguars as well as Rolls-Royce and Bentley, has grown sharply over the past five years — from 10,572 in 1993 to 15,699 in 1997 — while still accounting for only 0.72 per cent of the UK car market.

A Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders spokesman said luxury car sales were not as vulnerable to economic fluctuations as less practical luxuries such as jewellery and boats. Company purchases account for a greater proportion of sales in the luxury and executive car sector than in other sectors of the market.

Sir Colin Chandler, chairman of Vickers, the former owner of Rolls-Royce Motor Cars, noted last year that Rolls-Royce and Bentley cars were competing not with other cars but with paintings, yachts and race-

The premier league

How the market breaks down

Super-luxury cars

Rolls Royce Phantom	£155,000 upwards
Bentley Azure	£215,000 upwards
Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards

In the second rank

Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards
Mercedes S600	£102,540
BMW 7 series	£75,000 to £79,500
Jaguar XJ6	£55,000 to £64,000
Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards
Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards
Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards

And for sporty types

Rolls Royce Phantom	£100,000 upwards
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Brown's Rover theory refuted

Productivity

Charlotte Demery

ROVER blamed the strong pound for its latest round of redundancies at the company, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, countered by pointing the finger at British workers' poor productivity. Now, economists at one of Britain's top business schools have leapt to the defence of British manufacturers.

While Mr Brown and the Bank of England's monetary policy committee are concerned that manufacturers are giving their employees large wage increases at a time of stagnant productivity, research from the London Business School shows that official figures are understating productivity.

"Manufacturing has been unfairly targeted by the MPC," said Paul Robson, one of the report's authors. "They've earned their wage increases."

According to the Office for

National Statistics, manufacturing productivity, which is the amount of output produced by each worker, has risen by only 0.6 per cent a year since 1994, while, according to the latest earnings figures, wages are growing by more than 5 per cent a year.

But Mr Robson and his co-author, Neil Blake of the LBS, say the Government's figures underestimate productivity growth, because of a change in how the ONS measures manufacturing employment.

Using estimates based on the CBI's quarterly survey of the sector, they find that the number of manufacturing workers has been shrinking since 1994, which means the amount of output from each has been growing faster than official figures suggest.

According to their figures, productivity grew by 2.7 per cent in 1996 and 3.2 per cent in 1997.

The authors say the real culprit is the services sector, where productivity has been lower than official estimates suggest and which is still largely unaffected by higher interest rates.

Two were adjourned to mid-August, but Walter Hasselkus, Rover's chief executive, agreed to meet union leaders on Friday to discuss his proposals, including plans for a four-day week.

Tony Woodley, TGWU national automotive secretary, last night questioned BMW's plans for a new Rolls plant. "You can't have Bentley without Rolls-Royce. The two should be built on one site, at Crewe."

Best of British may be moved to Bavarian base

The future

Nicholas Bannister
and David Gow

BMW may be forced to manufacture its new Rolls-Royce cars at an established Rover plant or ultimately transfer production overseas, despite the pledge yesterday by its chairman, Bernd Pischetsrieder, to in-

vest in building new factory in England.

Industry sources suggested that BMW, Rover's owner since 1994, may invest up to £300 million in a production line for Rolls-Royce at its new Hams Hall engine plant in Warwickshire rather than at the Longbridge factory in Birmingham, which retains a reputation for poor quality and is geared to mass production of the new Mini.

The Land-Rover factory in

Solihull is said to have no space for expansion after the successful introduction of the Freelander model. But the Cowley plant, now known as Rover Oxford, could accommodate a new line and, until recently, built bodies for Rolls-Royce.

Mr Pischetsrieder refused to detail the likely scale of investment and job prospects at the new plant. The biggest problem he faces is that out-

next century will be so low — even compared with the fewer than 2,000 Rolls and Bentleys now produced at Crewe — that it could struggle to make profits.

Rolls production would fit more readily into BMW's Bavarian plants, which supply some 50 per cent of the components for Rolls and Bentley cars assembled at Crewe.

But the last effort to build Rolls overseas — at Springfield, Massachusetts, in the

1920s — failed when customers balked at buying non-British models. Ferdinand Piech, chairman of Volkswagen, would guarantee only to keep production at Crewe for 10 years.

Mr Pischetsrieder's pledge to keep Rolls British-made came as Rover confirmed to its unions it plans to shed 1,500 jobs and cut output of its models, apart from Freelander, by 40,000 this year to £20,000. Formal negotiations between the

two were adjourned to mid-August, but Walter Hasselkus, Rover's chief executive, agreed to meet union leaders on Friday to discuss his proposals, including plans for a four-day week.

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مكتبة الامير

Racing

Johnston Dreams come true

Charlie Hayward

NO ONE could accuse Mark Johnston of being in dream land when he talked in terms of the sprint championship for his filly Land Of Dreams after she had produced a devastating burst to win the King George Stakes at Goodwood yesterday.

Happily, the gambler she threw down will be picked up by connections of Elnadim, who are keen that the pair should meet in the Nunthorpe Stakes over five furlongs at York next month.

Elnadim, the six-furlong specialist, has never won over the minimum trip and whether he has the speed to contain this filly's finishing burst will be the big point of conjecture.

Johnston is in no doubt that Land Of Dreams is the fastest horse he has trained. "When she won the Flying Childers last year I thought the five-furlong races would be hers for the taking this season," said the trainer.

"The fact that this was her first win since has been frustrating. Things just haven't worked out for her — she had no sort of run in the King's Stand at Ascot last time."

Johnny Holland had no trouble setting a run this time and, indeed, may have hit the front a fraction too soon, although it was not until 150 yards out that she burst on the scene.

As soon as she was in front she started to look about and swerved to her right," said Holland. "In better company, hopefully I'll be able to hold on to her a bit longer."

The stewards inquired into interference between Land Of Dreams and the third Lochaneg, but the third Lochaneg, who was in the middle, took no action.

Jeff Smith, owner of Lo-

chaneg, put the defeat of his filly down to the draw (14 of 15) and is hopeful of reversing the form in the Nunthorpe. "If we had been drawn on the inside we could have pinged up the rail. You have not heard the last of her so don't write her off," he warned.

For Frankie Dettoni, the rider of Lochaneg, this was his third visit to the stewards' room in as many races. Dettoni picked up bans totalling 11 days at Goodwood last season and this is not his favourite track.

In the opening Peugeot Gordon Stakes he dead-heated on Nedawi with Rabah, ridden by Richard Hills. Contact was made in the shadow of the post as Nedawi drifted into his rival as he got tired, but the stewards considered the interference accidental.

Because of the dead-heat, Hills and Dettoni will share a new Peugeot 306 Cabriolet, part of the winning prize, for six months each. The winning trainers, John Dunlop and Seamus Burrow, must do the same with a 406 Coupe.

Dettoni was again on the carpet to explain his riding following the Grosvenor Casino Cup in which he finished seventh on Perfect Paradigm after interference had taken place with Tough Leader two furlongs out.

Accidental was again the verdict and Dettoni beaved a sigh of relief, although he joked that none of his weighing room colleagues would lay him a price about him surviving the meeting.

The race went to Peter Chapple-Hyam's Seigniorial, ridden by apprentice Robert Havlin, who wore down the top weight Street General to win by a neck. Somewhat controversially, Seigniorial had been upped 10lb after finishing seventh to Rabah at Haydock last time, but this result proved the handicapper's wisdom.



Dream run... Land Of Dreams (right) powers through to capture the big sprint at Goodwood. PHOTOGRAPH: JULIAN HERBERT

Among Men for Sussex stardom

Ron Cox

AMONG MEN, close fourth to All-Royal in last year's Sussex Stakes, can fend off the anticipated strong challenge from Lend A Hand to grab Group One honours at Goodwood today.

Michael Stoute's colt was

no match for the brilliant Intikhab in the Queen Anne Stakes at Royal Ascot in June, but a repeat of that form will see him go very close here. He holds Poteen, Almushtarak, Centre Stalls and Mucha on Ascot form and has since enjoyed a confidence-boosting win at Yarmouth.

Starborough was second

in last year's Sussex Stakes, a length and three-quarters in front of Among Men, but may be best watched today after running poorly in Hong Kong three months ago.

Lend A Hand, the 2,000

Guineas second, to the one

Among Men (3.20) has to

beat Mark Johnston's colt

was below form in Ger-

many recently but had insufficient use made of him in a muddling race.

Porto Foricos, supplemented for £18,000, showed a bright turn of foot to win at York. This represents a

huge step up in class,

though, and at similar odds

French Guineas winner

Victory Note represents

better value.

Results

BACKERS of Surveyor, strongly fancied for Saturday's Stewards' Cup at Goodwood, are in for an anxious few days after the colt pulled up lame on Monday morning.

John Dunlop, his trainer, commented yesterday: "He stood on a stone and was lame but was better this morning and I am still hopeful he will be able to run on Saturday."

Surveyor yesterday eased from 6-1 to 7-1 with Coral, who reported heavy backing for Nuclear Debate, now their Stewards' Cup favourite at 13-2, from 8-1. Harmonic Way has also been well supported and is now 11-1 from 14-1.

Lindsay Charnock was taken to hospital for X-rays after being injured in a fall from Are There at Beverley yesterday.

Charnock, who has ridden 51 winners this year, suffered a shoulder and mild concussion and was sent to Hull Royal Infirmary after being examined by the racecourse doctor.

GOODWOOD
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Ullrich bares his mountain steel, page 14

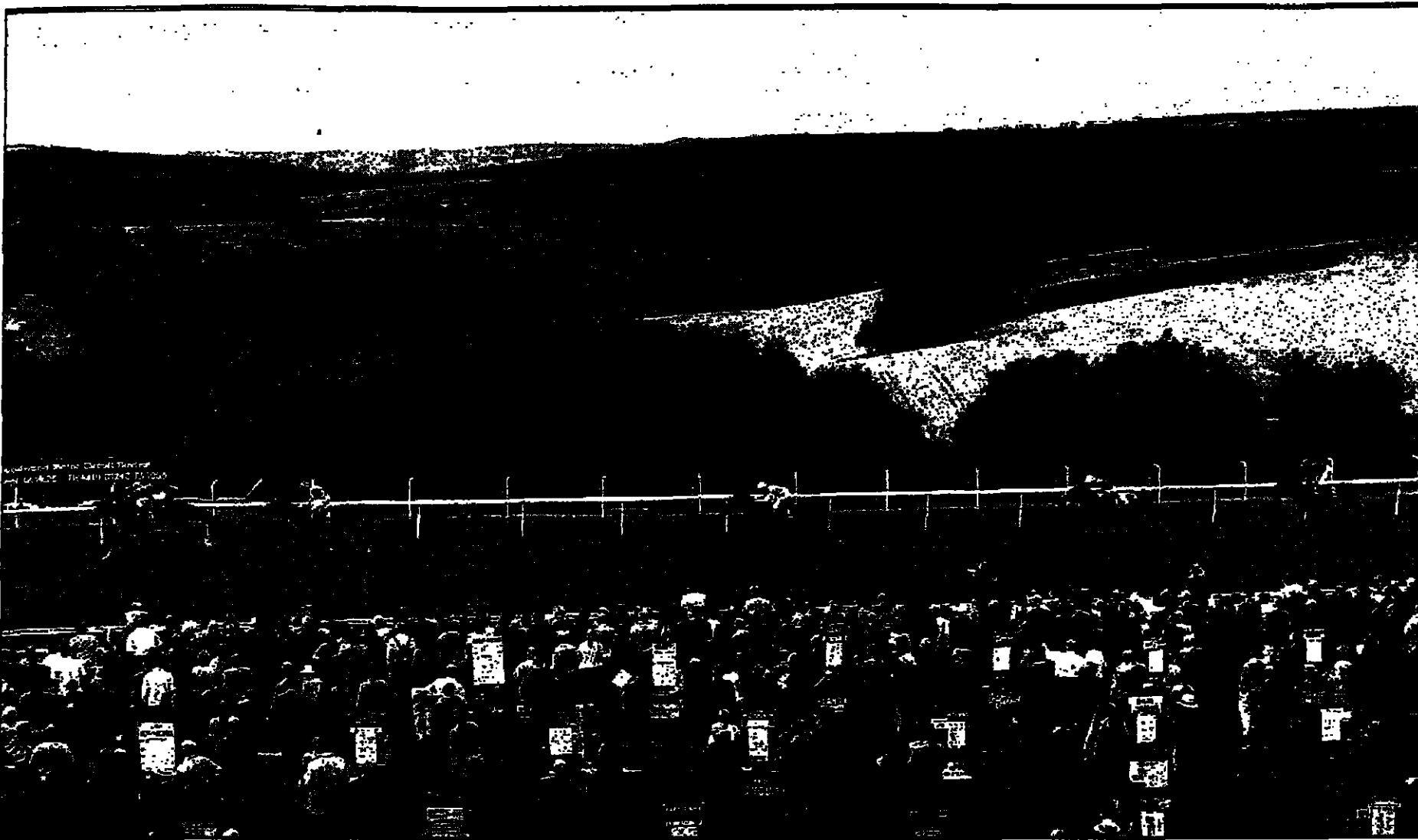
Brazil show Zagallo the door, page 14

Warwickshire fans turn on Lara, page 15

Atherton leads the victory chase, page 15

SportsGuardian

Glorious Goodwood



Too close to call... Rabah, ridden by Richard Hills, and Nedawi (Frankie Dettori) battle out a first-race dead-heat amid spectacular surroundings yesterday

ADAM BUTLER

Love affair that is always a joy

Laura Thompson is entranced by the serene spread of Sussex countryside on the first day of racing's stunning summer festival

THE Flat race season is like a clever lover. It always knows what you want next, far better than you yourself do, and by anticipating your desires and attuning itself with subtlety to their rhythms, so it keeps them ever satisfied.

It knows, for example, that after the emotional exertions of Epsom, what you really want is a frivolous flirtation with Royal Ascot. Similarly it knows that after the monumental midsummer climax of last Saturday's King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Diamond Stakes, you want nothing so much as a long, laid-back drag on horse racing's equivalent of a post-coital cigarette.

You want, in fact, five days of Glorious Goodwood, the place where grown-ups go for their summer holiday.

The start of that holiday is truly precious. Arriving at a racetrack is always a joy but Goodwood gives you something beyond the mere thrill of expectancy. Even without the benefit of sun it is profoundly beautiful: a serene spread of Sussex countryside, a patchwork of green and gold and amber upon which the track is delineated only by an insignificant white fence.

In short, it is a sight to uplift the heart even of a bookmaker who has just laid seven winning favourites.

Indeed, such is the sense of peace that it induces that the racing itself seems affected.

The horses look so small, so much a part of the natural landscape, that one perceives their movements as if in a benevolent trance. Races seem to unfold like a slow streamer, and crucial items such as tactics and jockeyship become mere incidentals.

Even when the action is at its most dramatic — as in the extraordinary dead-heat in the race that opened the festival yesterday, the Gordon Stakes — the impact is somehow diffused, lost in the midst of these vast, calm undulations. Not that it is any less enjoyable. It is simply that the eye, being too beguiled by the broader canvas, does not focus in the usual way. That stiflingly close identification with the spectacle that one

gets when horses come round, say, Tattenham Corner is impossible at Goodwood.

In fact the whole place generates a diffuse rather than dramatic atmosphere. In that sense the "Glorious" part of the festival's name is somehow inappropriate: it conjures images of cheering and flag-waving, as if the Last Night of the Proms had been transported to the Richmond Enclosure. Yesterday nothing could have been further from the reality.

At times it was so relaxed that it was as if the air had been impregnated with hashish. People wandered about behind them, languidly yet purposefully getting on with the serious business of having a good time.

Goodwood is indeed a holiday for grown-ups, and this is really what grown-ups love about it. Wandering about in that great open-air palace of delight, the thought occurs that most sporting events seem to demand that their spectators revert to a state of childhood. At football matches grown men weep

over results like thwarted three-year-olds, wearing replica shirts as if to say "When I grow up I want to be Dennis Bergkamp". At tennis tournaments mature women squeal like bobby-soxers and buy postcard representations of Patrick Rafter. Everywhere

Races seem to unfold like a slow streamer as tactics and jockeys are mere incidentals

people too old to die for their country dress themselves in track suits, rumper suits and dayglo Lycra. Regression is in the name of the game.

But at race meetings, and especially at grown-up Goodwood, the name of the game is taking adult pleasure in adult style. People dress like a child's idea of a grown-up:

hat, heels, suit, tie. People smoke, and fill the bars with thick accretions of decadence. People drink. People gamble. People spend money, people lose money, work harder than they ever do in the office studying form trying to win money. People dedicate themselves heart and soul to an adult's true vacation vocation: the pursuit of fun.

Paradoxically, it is perhaps because of this that you find, in your worldly heart, an easy space for the truly childlike pleasures of Flat racing: the sight of horses running across the Sussex Downs, for example. Real grown-ups are never afraid to be innocent and the Goodwood crowd is, in the main, heart-warming proof of this.

"Bugger, I've done my money," said the man alongside as the favourite gave way lamely to the two horses that dead-heated in the Gordon Stakes.

Then he smiled stoically, as adults must. "Never mind. Brave pair of boys, weren't they?"

Racing, page 13

Samaranch denies a softer approach to drug taking

Duncan Mackay

THE International Olympic Committee president Juan Antonio Samaranch has denied softening his stance on performance-enhancing drugs.

Michael Knight, Australia's minister for the 2000 Olympics, spoke to Samaranch as he arrived at the Olympic village in Athens on Monday. Knight said Samaranch was "a bit of a softie" and that he was "a bit of a softie" and that he was "a bit of a softie".

"Mr Samaranch assured me the IOC's campaign against drugs in sport would continue with full determination and vigour," Knight said.

"Regarding the comments attributed to him purporting to draw a distinction between performance-enhancing drugs which harm athletes and those which don't, he made it clear he believed there were no performance enhancing drugs that did not cause harm

to athletes' health."

The IOC medical commission's vice-president Jacques Rogge also moved to downplay suggestions that Samaranch was softening his stance. "I think there is a lot of misunderstanding about what he said actually and the way it was printed was a little bit inaccurate," Rogge said.

According to Rogge, Samaranch merely wanted to see if the list of banned drugs could be simplified and is still "a keen defender of the fight against doping."

"The fundamentals of the fight against doping are the protection of the health of the athlete and establishing a fair competition and banning performance-enhancing drugs."

Meanwhile Prince Nebelito, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, has said that any sports that refuse to back key moves to standardise anti-doping rules at a world conference in January could be face expulsion from the Olympic Games.

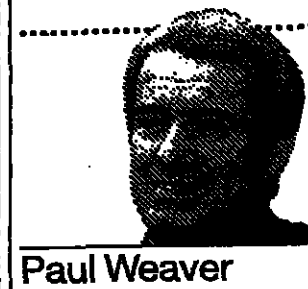
Jonathan Freedland, page 8

The new Baroness Young is of Old Scone — despite the august title and the fact that she spent her childhood on the Earl of Mansfield's estate outside Perth, she is not of blue blood.

Paul Brown

Society, G2 page 12

The old flame tarries again as the new gutters and dies



Paul Weaver

BEFORE the Olympic Games came to be seen as a junket for junkies, before Juan Antonio Samaranch started popping principle-diminishing drugs and before athletes started their build-up in the bathroom and finished competition counting the profits, the flame occasionally burned high and bright.

Fifty years ago today the 1948 Olympics, the Austerity Games, were opened at Wembley Stadium by King George VI. Today more than 100 veteran British athletes will return to celebrate the anniversary of one of the greatest of Games and to salute the spirit of men like Pierre de Coubertin.

It is a pity that Samaranch, who has succeeded De Coubertin as International Olympic Committee president, via the likes of Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin, cannot make it to London. But the man who championed the commercialisation of the Games is now too busy bungling his line on performance-enhancing drugs.

The words of Samaranch, under whose leadership the Olympic Games have ceased to be the major event in the sporting calendar, lay in ruins within 48 hours of their being uttered. They were immediately ridiculed by Monday evening's suspension of two leading American athletes, Randy Barnes and Dennis Mitchell, and undermined by other important members of the IOC.

Samaranch would have discovered a health risk of his own at Wembley today if asked to clarify his remarks to a body of ageing athletes for whom liberation and goodwill were the salient emotions in those 1948 Games.

Don Bradman's cricketers were slaying the best England could muster. Clem Atlee's administration was in its radical pomp, tanks were running in London and post-war rationing was still in force.

Dorothy Tyler, who had won a high jump silver at the Surrey teenager in the previous Olympics in Berlin in 1936 and returned to win another at Wembley, remembers the rationing.

Tyler, who will be at Wembley and who between her medals drove an RAF lorry for the Dambuster Squadron, says: "I was not on the probable list but those who were received food parcels from some of the Commonwealth countries."

"When the teams were selected we were given extra ration cards. My husband used to go for my meat ration hoping to get more because he was a man." Tyler also competed in the Helsinki (1952) and Melbourne (1956) games. Today she is 78 and a keen golfer.

Jim Halliday, who won a lightweight bronze in the lightlifting, prepared for the Olympics as a Japanese prisoner-of-war and returned to Britain weighing only six stone. With two months to go before the Games athletes had their milk, butter, margarine and meat rations increased. Before that some herring fishermen on the east coast each provided a weekly box of fish for competitors.

EMIL ZATOPK, who won three gold medals in the Helsinki Games, first made his Olympic mark in London, with a 10,000 metres gold and a 5,000 metres silver. Everyone knows he was a great runner; few remember that he was a great man too.

The Australian Ron Clarke, 18 times a world record holder but never an Olympic champion, was befriended by Zatopek in Czechoslovakia some 30 years ago, after the Mexican Games. "When I left, Emil took me to Prague Airport and handed me a small package, whispering to me that I should not open it until I was out of Czech airspace. He added: 'This is not out of friendship but because you deserve it.'"

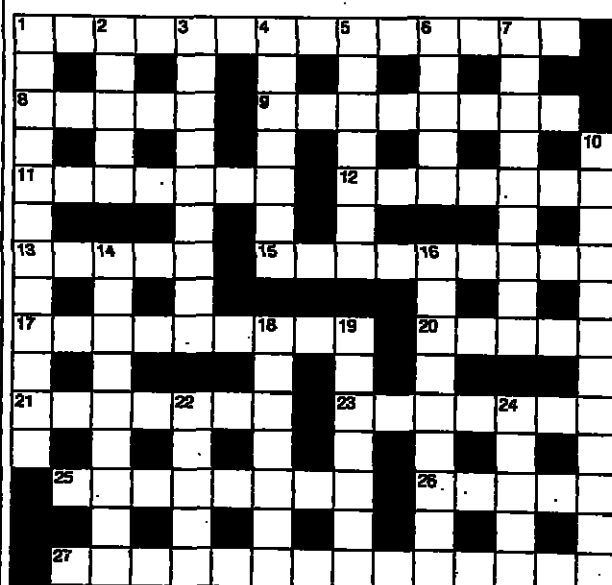
"I was worried I might be smuggling something out for him. The plane had not been flying very long when I retreated to the lavatory and unwrapped and opened the box. There, inscribed with my name and that day's date, was Emil's Olympic 10,000 metres gold medal. I sat on that toilet seat and wept."

The greatest star of all in 1948 was the "Flying Dutchwoman", Fanny Blankers-Koen, now 80. She returns to Wembley today to refresh memories of her four gold medals. The 80-year-old mother of two had been written off before the competition.

"The spirit of the Olympic Games tarries here awhile," read the Wembley scoreboard at the closing ceremony. It is a pity it does not tarry awhile in the modern Olympics movement.

Guardian Crossword No 21,339

Set by Araucaria

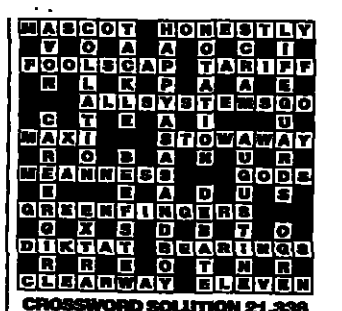


Across

- 1 The L of Lucifer was Shaw's work (6,8)
- 8 Scottish girl painter embraced by cat (5)
- 9 Cat litter (king size?) (4,4)
- 11 No way to drink a quick medicine (7)
- 12 Golden string presently needs method of investigation (7)
- 13 Measure used by Joseph, Ahab, etc (5)
- 15 Write a book with a rubber stamp? (9)
- 17 Infernal sort of end for French comedian (5)
- 20 I across's swift about-turn (5)
- 21 Islander with a heart of flesh to make ice endlessly (7)
- 23 French boy married and started again (7)

Down

- 1 Masked appearance? 24 25 in the end — come off it! (6,6)
- 2 Pathogenic man in Latin America (5)
- 3 Piece of wood or big bird: I'm talking too much (9)
- 4 See 18
- 5 Empty vessels — see and hold forth about it (4,3)
- 6 A tooth of 25.4mm is unknown (5)
- 7 Debutante that's in currency in Bucharest is invoked in Paris (2,3,4)
- 10 Having cooked best end, dined with an encumbrance (12)



CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,339

- 14 National maybe Roman poet held service without a fault (5,4)
- 15 Composer of flat — another one (9)
- 18 4 20's problem was Shaw's work (7,7)
- 19 Learning to love a far country before a lover of Shakespeare (7)
- 22 Cultivation of the soil until the evening (5)
- 24,25 Result of strike on a body: a number fall after sneezing twice (2,3,4,4)

Solution tomorrow

23 Stuck? Then call our solutions line on 0800 4 333 222. Calls cost 50p per minute at all times. Service supplied by ATS



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High Interest Savings (60 days notice)	All Options Gross CAR	Annual Option Gross	Monthly Option Gross
£100,000 +	7.00%	7.00%	6.79%
£50,000 +	6.90%	6.90%	6.70%
£25,000 +	6.80%	6.80%	6.60%
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£5,000 +	6.60%	6.60%	6.41%
Up to £5,000	6.50%	6.50%	6.32%
Midland Instant Access Savings	All Options Gross CAR	Annual Option Gross	Monthly Option Gross
£50,000 +	6.25%	6.25%	6.08%
£25,000 +	5.75%	5.75%	5.61%
£10,000 +	5.25%	5.25%	5.13%
£5,000 +	5.00%	5.00%	4.89%
Up to £5,000	4.50%	4.50%	4.41%
Deposit Account (7 days notice) (No longer sold)	Half Yearly Interest Gross CAR	Half Yearly Interest Gross	
£50,000 +	6.25%	6.17%	
£25,000 +	5.75%	5.68%	
£10,000 +	5.25%	5.19%	
£5,000 +	5.00%	4.95%	
Up to £5,000	4.50%	4.46%	

Gross: The rate before the deduction of tax applicable to savings accounts.
Gross CAR (Compound Annual Rate): The true gross return taking into account the frequency of interest payments.

Tax Free: Tax free means that the interest is free of income tax.

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